

THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

EDITOR : D. N. Majumdar

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THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

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The Eastern Anthropologist is a quarterly Journal published from Lucknow.

Each number of the Journal will include (1) Original Articles, (2) Notes and comments including the announcements and reports of the proceedings of the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, (3) Brief Communications, including short original notes and correspondence, (4) Research News and Views and (5) Reviews of Recent Books.

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NOTES & COMMENTS

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been conferred by the Lucknow University on Sri Kailash Nath Sharma for his thesis on 'Urban Contacts and Cultural Change in a Little Community'. This was examined by Dr. Robert Redfield of Chicago University, Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum of California (Berkeley) and Prof. D. N. Majumdar. Dr. Sharma is at present the Head of the Department of Sociology at the D. A. V. College, Kanpur (U.P.). He is the seventh successful student who secured the Ph.D. degree in Anthropology from Lucknow.

The thesis, a typed document of 515 pages with a large number of photographs, charts and tables is the outcome of more than four years of off-and-on work and intensive field research on culture contact and social change in a small village community near the industrial town of Kanpur, under the supervision and guidance of Dr. D. N. Majumdar, Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology at the Lucknow University.

Sri Gauri Shankar Sinha, M.A., an investigator in the ex-Criminal Tribes Rehabilitation Project under the Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University, has resigned his post to join the Patna University as Lecturer in the Department of Sociology.

The Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University, had the pleasure of a brief visit by Prof. Clyde Kluckhohn of the Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass.) in October, 1957. Prof. Kluckhohn was visting India at the invitation of the Govt. of India as one of

the team of American Professors appointed as advisers on General Education to the various Universities in India. He returned to the U.S. early in December, 1957.

The Asiatic Society, India, have awarded the Annandale Memorial Gold Medal to Prof. D. N. Majumdar for research and original contributions in the field of anthropology in Asia. Prof. Majumdar returned to India in the first week of February, 1958.

The Indian Sociological Association held its third session at Agra, under the auspices of the Agra University, under the General Presidentship of Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee. The Sectional Presidents were Dr. C. R. Rao (Social Statistics), Prof. Kali Prasad (Social Psychology), Dr. R. N. Saksena (Sociology) and Sri N. K. Bose (Social Anthropology). Sri Bose could not attend as he was in the United States, and Dr. S. C. Dube of the Saugar University acted in his place. The Conference was attended by a large number of delegates, including Overseas delegates from various countries.

The University Grants Commission has sanctioned the post of a Reader in Anthropology for the Department of Anthropology Lucknow, and a non-recurring grant for scientific equipments, which will go a great way in meeting the requirements of teaching and research. The Department needs a building to house its museum, laboratory, and research staff. It is expected that the demand of the Department will receive sympathetic consideration from the Grants Commission. The University of Lucknow had initiated anthropological studies in 1927, and is the second university in India (Calcutta being the first) to have done so.

VARIATION IN MAN*

G. M. KURULKAR

Hegel analysed progress into three stages, which he called Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis. In applying this idea to educational theory A. N. Whitehead adopted the terms, Stage of Romance, Stage of Precision, and State of Generalization. Thinking in these terms of stages of progress one is likely to get an impression that such stages are discrete and separate, one following the other. But this may not be so. It may be possible that each stage of progress may have the seeds of the other two inherent in it. This method of analysis of progress can be applied to the growth and progress of science.

Science of Anthropology deals with all mankind in its environment. It tries to understand ourselves, here, now, so that it may help to improve our present, and possibly influence the future. It concerns itself with men's physiques, their societies, with communications and products—the languages and cultures—of these societies. It has so far specialized on the primitives, because no other science will deal seriously with them.

If one were to apply Whitehead's idea of stages of progress, then it looks that Anthropology of today is in the stage of Precision. Some few generalizations are in sight. The strategy of Physical Anthropology—as Washburn describes—it is fast changing. Anthropologists have not yet finalized their new method. This is so, because purpose and theory are also undergoing a radical change. The emerging new Anthropology is gradually tending to be a coordinating science. Concept of "Culture", around which various disciplines like Psychology, Biochemistry, Primatology, Genetics, Anatomy, etc., are closing round, is the centre. Clearer definitions of Culture are being attempted at. One such by Jules Henry is comprehensive and clear, having been expressed on physiological basis. This is dealt with later.

The research activity in Anthropology in future must become a collective and integrated activity of scientists drawn from different disciplines. So far we are accustomed to seeing a lone anthropologist doing some research. This is going to be a thing of the past.

With this background, I now make an attempt to present to you in this address the following three topics.

1. The nature of the methodic exposition of "Variation in Man" by ancient Indians (600-500 B.C.) as hypothesized by them. It is

* Abridged from the Address of the President, Anthropology and Archaeology Section, Indian Science Congress, Madras, 1958.

significant to note that these exponents were mainly the pioneers in Āyurveda—Science of life—and practised medicine in India of Ancient times.

2. Tendency of Anthropologists towards the progressive utilization of important newly developed biological and other sciences in an anthropological investigation.

3. Realization of the positive usefulness of New Anthropology to reorient the health organizations and concepts of disease, somewhat on the lines of what Ancient Indians attempted.

EXPOSITION OF VARIATION IN MAN BY ANCIENT INDIANS

The following information regarding variation in man as expounded by ancient Indians, is collected from Carakasamhitā, Suśrutasaṃhitā, Aṣṭāṅgasanġraha etc. which are considered authorities in this regard.

The study of normal man was used by Ancients :

- 1.1. to differentiate Ātura (a patient) from a person of normal health,
- 1.2. to know suitability of man and woman to each other in mating,
- 1.3. to know the past and future of man.
- 1.1. For examination of a patient, Caraka lays down a rule that Ātura should be examined, with a view to find out his
 - 1.1.1. Prakṛti—Normalcy (there is no correct English word equivalent to the idea underlying the Sanskrit word Prakṛti),
 - 1.1.2. Vikṛti—Disturbance of normalcy,
 - 1.1.3. Sāra—Essences (dominances?),
 - 1.1.4. Saṃhanana—Body build,
 - 1.1.5. Pramāṇa—(body) proportions,
 - 1.1.6. Sātmya—Likes and dislikes,
 - 1.1.7. Satvaśakti—Power of mind,
 - 1.1.8. Vyāyāmaśakti—Capacity for physical work,
 - 1.1.9. Ahāraśakti—Eating and digesting capacity,
 - 1.1.10. Vayas—Age.
 - 1.1.1. Prakṛti—(normalcy) is determined in its following 4 aspects :
 - 1.1.1.1. Prakṛti of a person may be of 3 types according to which of the 3 body humors (Vāta, Pitta, Kapha) is dominating in him.
 - 1.1.1.2. Normalcy is influenced by the following factors :
 - 1.1.1.2.1. Jātiprasaktā—attached to caste.
 - 1.1.1.2.2. Kulaprasaktā—attached to lineage of family.
 - 1.1.1.2.3. Deśanupātini—consequent to the region (of land).
 - 1.1.1.2.4. Vayonupātini—consequent to age.
 - 1.1.1.2.5. Kālānupātini—consequent to weather.

- 1.1.1.2.6. Pratyātmanīyatā—restrained by one's own self.
- 1.1.1.3. Varna—complexion. They are 4. Kṛṣṇa (dark),
 S्यामा (brown), Avadāta (spotless fair),
 S्याmāvadāta (spotless brown),
- 1.1.1.4. Swara—Voice resembling, any of the following :
 Hansa (swan), Krauñca (heron), Nemi (ring of wheel),
 Dundubhi (large kettle drum), Kalaviṅka (sparrow),
 Kāka (crow), Kapota (dove), Jarjara (dull hollow
 broken brass vessel). There are 8 types.
- 1.1.2. Vikṛti—Malconditions. These are dealt with, in Indian
 Medicine.
- 1.1.3. Sāra—Essences, or dominant peculiarities of a person,
 consisting of 8 types.
- 1.1.3.1. Tvaksāra—Skin essence or dominance. Skin is juicy,
 smooth, soft, and pleasant. Hair are soft, long, delicate,
 and lustrous.
- 1.1.3.2. Raktasāra—Blood essence or dominance. Ears, eyes,
 mouth, tongue, nose, lips, palms, soles, nails, forehead,
 penis are red and lustrous.
- 1.1.3.3. Mānasāra—Flesh essence or dominance. Temples, fore-
 head, upper part of neck, orbits, cheek, jaws, shoulders,
 belly, chest, joints or hands and feet are bigger and full
 of flesh. These persons are strong, have courage, are
 happy and straightforward, have push and forgiving
 temperament.
- 1.1.3.4. Medahāra—Fat essence or dominance. Skin, hair, nails,
 lips, teeth, urine, and stools are oily. These persons
 have endearing eyes, and voice is affectionate. They
 are delicate and need sympathetic treatment.
- 1.1.3.5. Asthisāra—Bone essence or dominance. Heels, ankles,
 knees, wrists, sternum, cheeks, head, joints, nails, teeth,
 and bones in general are big. These persons are strong,
 active, and have great capacity for bearing pain. They
 are energetic.
- 1.1.3.6. Majjāsāra—Marrow essence or dominance. These persons
 are strong, have soft body and big joints. They beget
 many issues.
- 1.1.3.7. Sukrasāra—Semen essence or dominance. These are mild
 persons. Their eyes are mild with a mild look. They
 have evenly set teeth, pleasant skin, and have an attrac-
 tive voice full of affection. They have big loins. They
 are jolly, healthy, and fond of women. They love
 popularity. They beget many issues.
- 1.1.3.8. Satvasāra—Mind essence or dominance. These persons
 are devoting, grateful, and learned. They are alert,

bold, and great fighters. They have great energy. They have strong memory, and like serious intellectual pursuits for the good of the people. They have clean habits, and their gait is sound. They do not mourn losses.

A person may belong to one or more essences. Persons not coming under any of the above categories are Asāra (without essence).

1.1.4. Saṁhanana—Body build. There are three types :

1.1.4.1. Susaṁhata (well built). Body symmetrically disposed, bones strong, joints secure, flesh well placed, and full blood are the characteristics of this type. These are Balavanta (powerful).

1.1.4.2. Visaṁhata (weakly built). Type opposite to susaṁhata. These persons are Alpabala (not much powerful).

1.1.4.3. Madhyamasāṁhata (medium built). Medium type between Susaṁhata and Visaṁhata, with medium power, Madhyamabala.

1.1.5. Pramāṇās (proportions) of human body. These are quoted from

(a) Carakasāṁhitā—Vimānasthāna, Adhyāya 8,

(b) Suśrutasaṁhitā—Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 35,

(c) Aṣṭāṅgasangraha—Sarirsthāna, M a r m a b h e d i y a Adhyāya 8.

These are normals.

The method of taking measurements for pramāṇās is given below :—

“Measured by fingers of the body to be measured, if the body of a male or a female has the proportions as described, then he or she should be considered, as having a correct proportionate body.”

(Suśrutasaṁhitā, Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 35, Sloka 14).

It need not be mentioned that measurements by fingers are really phalango-corporal indices, and not absolute measurements.

Body Parts	Fingers		
	Suśruta	Caraka	A. Saṅgraha
1. Length, big toe ...	2	—	2
2. „ 2nd toe ...	2	—	2
3. „ 3rd toe ...	8/5	—	8/5
4. „ 4th toe ...	32/25	—	32/25
5. „ 5th toe ...	1	—	1
6. „ total foot ...	14	14	14
7. „ leg ...	18	18	18
8. „ from knee to waist ...	32	—	—
9. „ total, lower limb ...	50	—	—

Body Parts	Fingers		
	Suśruta	Caraka	A. Saṅgraha
10. Length thigh, knee to hip joint	18	18	18
11. „ knee ...	—	4	4
12. „ calf belly ...	—	10	10
13. „ forefoot ...	4	—	4
14. „ foot central part ...	4	—	4
15. „ heel ...	5	—	4
16. Breadth, forefoot ...	5	—	6
17. „ foot central part ...	5	—	5
18. „ heel ...	4	—	4
19. Circumference, foot central part	14	—	14
20. „ ankle ...	14	—	14
21. „ leg central part ...	14	—	14
22. „ knee ...	14	16	—
23. „ calf belly ...	16	16	—
24. „ thigh ...	32	32	32
25. Height, arch of the foot	—	4	4
26. Length, testis ...	2	—	—
27. „ non-erect penis ...	4	6	—
28. „ vagina ...	12	—	—
29. „ scrotum ...	—	6	6
30. Circumference, vulva	—	12	—
31. „ scrotum ...	—	8	8
32. „ penis ...	—	5	—
33. Width, chin ...	2	—	—
34. „ chin and lip together ...	—	4	4
35. „ side of the nose ...	2	—	—
36. Length, tooth ...	2	—	—
37. „ nose ...	4	4	4
38. „ ear ...	4	4	4
39. Length, eye ...	—	—	2
40. „ nasal opening each ...	1 $\frac{1}{3}$	—	—
41. „ face ...	12	12	12
42. Breadth, forehead ...	4	4	4
43. „ open eye ...	—	—	breadth thumb
44. Distance, between eyes ...	2	—	—
45. „ „ ear and outer canthus ...	5	—	—
46. „ „ hinder border of the left auricle to that of the right ear across face	24	24	24
47. distance, between pupils ...	4	4	4

Body Parts	Fingers		
	Susruta	Caraka	A. Saṅgraha
48. Mouth fully open ...	4	5	5
49. Corneal surface proportion of eye	$1/3$	—	$1/3$
50. Pupil, proportion of cornea ...	$1/9$	—	$1/9$
51. Distance, from hair line to vertex	11	—	—
52. „ „ vertex to back hair line ...	10	—	—
53. „ between ear to ear on head back ...	14	—	—
54. „ between upper end of neck to vertex ...	—	16	16
55. Circumference, head ...	—	32	32
56. „ neck ...	24	24	22
57. Nape of neck, (upper end of the trunk to the bottom of head)	4	4	4
58. Heart beat area to neck in front	12	—	—
59. Distance between nipples ...	12	12	—
60. Length, chest surface ...	12	12	—
61. Breadth, chest surface ...	—	24	—
62. Areola, breast ...	—	2	—
63. Heartbeat area ...	—	2	2
64. Length, whole arm excluding axillary region ...	32	—	—
65. „ upper end of humerus to elbow ...	16	16	16
66. „ shoulder joint ...	—	6	6
67. „ axilla ...	—	8	8
68. „ hand ...	—	12	12
69. „ middle finger ...	5	—	5
70. „ index and ring finger ...	$4\frac{1}{2}$	—	$4\frac{1}{2}$
71. „ thumb and little finger each ...	$3\frac{1}{2}$	—	$3\frac{1}{2}$
72. Distance root of thumb to index finger ...	5	—	—
73. „ elbow tip to middle finger tip ...	24	—	—
74. „ between palm and elbow	16	15	15
75. Circumference uniform between root of hand and a point four fingers above it ...	12	—	—
76. Hollow of the palm ...	6 by 4	—	—
77. Distance between umbilicus and root of penis ...	12	—	—

Body Parts	Fingers		
	Susruta	Caraka	A. Sangraha
78. Length, udar (belly) surfacial ...	—	12	12
79. Width, udar (belly) surfacial ...	—	12	12
80. Length, waist ...	—	16	16
81. Circumference, waist ...	—	—	50
82. Expanse of a shoulder ...	—	8	8
83. Sides, chest up to axilla, length	—	12	12
84. Sides, chest up to axilla, width	—	10	10
85. Height, pelvis while sitting ...	—	12	12
86. Distance from upper border of pelvis to beginning of neck on the back ...	—	18	—
87. Stature ...	120	84	84
88. Arm stretch ...	—	84	—

SEX DIFFERENCES

89. Female hip region as broad as male
chest ... 24 — —
90. Female chest as broad as male waist 18 — —

Suśruta further says that these proportions can only be applied to the males above 25 and females above 16 years.

Stature (87) is described as 120 fingers by Suśruta, and 84 fingers by Caraka and A. Sangraha. This disparity is due to the reason, as mentioned by Dalhana, the commentator of Suśrutasaṃhitā, that Suśruta's stature is taken with the arms raised above the head.

1.1.6. Sātmya—Likes and dislikes.

- 1.1.6.1. Ghr̥ta-kāhira-taila-mānsarasa Sātmya—persons who are fond of ghee, milk preparations, oils, and meat juices. These are strong, bear pain, and have long life.
- 1.1.6.2. Ruksha Sātmya—are persons who like rough food. These cannot bear pain, are weak, and have short life.
- 1.1.6.3. Vyāmiśra Sātmya—persons with mixed likes, get mixed consequences.
- 1.1.7. Satvaśakti—power of mind. (1.1.3.8. is further analysed here)
- 1.1.7.1. Pravara-satva are persons who can bear any pain lightly.
- 1.1.7.2. Hina-satva are persons who cannot bear pain, and cannot be consoled also. Very little physical pain upsets them. Sights of ugly things, terrifying experiences, sight of blood, flesh, etc., completely upset them. They may collapse, faint, become demented, and may even die, in the above mentioned circumstances.
- 1.1.7.3. Madhya-satva persons are of intermediate type, and can bear pain by thinking, can control themselves by effort, and can be consoled.

- 1.1.8. Vyāyāma-śakti—capacity for physical work, judged by making a person do graded physical work.
- 1.1.9. Ahāra-śakti—capacity for eating quantity of food and digesting it. Four types—
- 1.1.9.1. Samāhār-śakti—capacity for eating and digesting moderate amount of good food always.
- 1.1.9.2. Visāmāhar-śakti—sometimes eat and digest and sometimes cannot.
- 1.1.9.3. Atibhukta—can digest huge quantities of food.
- 1.1.9.4. Alpa-pacanaśakti—cannot eat much and have poor digestion.
- 1.1.10. Vayas—age. This is considered at length, but its description is left out.
- 1.2. Suitability of man and woman in mating.

In Kāmaśāstra (science of love) man and woman each has been described in two different ways. Their individual characters are described at length. A very brief account is given here.

- 1.2.1. Types are determined by comparison with animals. Esthetic grouping is based upon general form, shape and beauty.

Type Man	Type Woman
1. Mṛga (deer)	Vs. Padmini (lotus)
2. Saśa (hare)	Vs. Citriṇī (talented, artistic)
3. Vṛśa (bull)	Vs. Hastinī (she-elephant)
4. Aśva (horse)	Vs. Sankhinī (conch)

- 1.2.2. Mating groups are based on physical suitability.

Type Man	Mate of	Type Woman
Šaśa (hare) penis		Mṛgī (doe) vagina
length 6 fingers	...	length 6 fingers
Vṛśa (bull) penis	...	Aśvī (mare) vagina
length 9 fingers	...	length 9 fingers
Aśva (horse) penis	...	Karinī (she elephant) vagina
length 12 fingers	...	length 12 fingers

- 1.3. Sāmudrika-śāstra is supposed to be the science of knowing the past and future of man, from observations made on him. These observations are of the following nature :—
- “Past and future of a person is told by a clever person knowing Sāmudrika-śāstra after having methodically observed height, weight, gait, essences, complexion, oiliness, voice, constitution, mental condition, form and shape of face, the whole body and its parts, and lustre of a person.” (Sāmudrika-śāstra by Vedav-yāsa, Sloka 1).

Individual variations of each observation are attributed predicting values. Observations are done on : (1) variation in shape, form,

and comparison with animals, (2) some visible functional features, (3) Āyurvedic considerations, and (4) lustre.

(1) Body parts observed are feet, legs, knees, penis, scrotum, glans penis, buttocks, waist, abdominal outline, sides of abdomen, sides of chest, umbilicus, skin, skin folds on abdomen, nipples, back, heart area, front of the chest, sternoclavicular junctions, neck, ribs, sternum, shoulders, hands, fingers, wrists, palms, nails, patterns of ridges on fingers, the same on palms, lower jaw, lips, teeth, tongue, palate, face contours, Adam's apple, moustache and beard, cheeks, ears, nose, eyes, eyebrows, temples, forehead, lines on forehead, head, and hair on head.

(2) Some visible functional and other features are observed :

(a) Urine, nature of urine flow, semen.

(b) Voice, nature is noted.

(c) Peculiarities about laughing, weeping, and sneezing are considered.

(3) Variations based on Āyurvedic considerations are noted (1.1).

(4) Lustre of a person is considered.

Two samples of Sāmudrika observations are reproduced here.

“With Parimaṇḍala (spherical) heads be rich possessor of cows, with Chatrākāra (umbrella-shaped) heads be lords of earth, with Cipita (flat nosed) heads be killers of father and mother, with Karoti (oval long bowl shaped) heads have long life, with Ghata (Indian pitcher shaped) heads be fond of meditation, with Dvimastaka (bifid) heads be sinner and forsaken by riches, with Nimna (apically narrowing) heads be great, and Bahunimna (extremely apically narrowing) head is the source of disasters.” (Sāmudrika-śāstra, by Vedavyās).

“It is possible to tell the disposition of a person by observing face. Persons with face forms, of cow, bull, tiger, lion, and eagle types are lords of men, have invincible prowess, and are conquerors of enemies. Persons with face forms of ape, buffalo, sheep, and boar types are happy, wealthy, and beget many issues. Persons with face forms and bodies of ass, and camel types will be always unhappy.” (Sāmudrika-śāstra, by Vedavyās).

Further, five types of Mahāpuruṣa (big men), and five types of deformed men are described.

Mahāpuruṣa :—1. Malavya are residents of Cutch, Saurashtra, Gujrāt, Sind, Mālwa, Mārwar.

2. Bhadra are residents of Central India.

3. Rucaka are residents of Vindhya, Sahya, Ujjain.

4. Saśa are residents of Mlechha (non-Hindu) country.

5. Haṇsa are residents of Khasa, Sūrsena, Gandhāra, Duab.

- Deformed :—
1. Jaghanya (big buttocked) is dull, bold, cruel, humorous.
 2. Vāmanaka (pygmy) broken-backed, God-fearing
 3. Mandālaka (white leucoderma spots) fond of learning and black art.
 4. Sāmi (very ugly) unlucky, charitable.
 5. Kubjaka (hunch-backed) bold, dies suddenly.

Lastly, amongst Hindus there is a belief that an ideal human body has the following 32 Lakṣaṇās (signs) :—

1. Umbilicus deep and whorling to the right. 2. Voice deep.
- 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, nails, eye-corners, lips, palate, feet, tongue, palm red. 10, 11, 12, forehead, face, heart broad. 13, nose long. 14, 15, 16, 17, distance between nipples, eyes, jaws, arms long. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, joints, teeth, skin, nails, hair, delicate and thin. 23, 24, 25, 26 back, penis, legs, neck short. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, head, neck, mouth, chest, axilla, nose, held up.

All these descriptions, which we have just gone through, display the critical attitudes of observational capacity and ingenuity of thought of Ancient Indian scientists. It is worth noting that various angles concerning variation in man, which, in the present era of psychosomatic medicine, are the objects of study, seem reflected in the minds of Caraka and Suśruta.

Body measurements and observations (1.1.1.3.) (1.1.5.), heredity (1.1.1.2.1.) (1.1.1.2.2.), body build (1.1.4.), psychological factors (1.1.7.), personality (1.1.6.) (1.1.7) (1.1.1.2.6.), eugenics (1.2), attitudes and mental traits correlated to physical variations (1.3), ecology (1.1.1.2.3. and 5) have received their attention. Lastly, essences or dominances of tissues—a novel consideration—may not be so unintelligible to our mind, if we ponder and think. Could not these be considerations, our forefathers probably had in their minds in their own characteristic way, pertaining to typology of integrated genetic traits?

Let me now briefly review the account of newly developing sciences, which are progressively being utilized in Anthropology.

UTILIZATION OF NEWLY DEVELOPED BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

During the last century and a half, physical variation in man was attempted to be studied and understood by physical measurements. Out of all the measurements utilized for the purpose, "CEPHALIC INDEX" held sway over other mensural estimations. This period can aptly be called as "Cephalic Index Era". Traditional method of

this era was speculation. This era is passing. There had been enough speculations and classifications. New methods of investigation are being developed to prove which of the speculations are on the right track. It is true, however, that in studies of growth and applied anthropology measuring rod and calipers will be necessary, as the direct knowledge of dimensions is, what is aimed at. But in the evolutionary investigations, the change of methods and theoretical approach are of the greatest importance. Washburn expresses that "much of the old anthropological work on race and constitution is eliminated by rejection of the old concept of type. However, one of the main implications of the new point of view is that there is a far more intimate interrelationship between the different aspects of anthropology than under the old strategy. For example, a dynamic analysis of the form of jaw will illuminate problems of evolution, fossil man, race, growth, constitution, and medical application. An unravelling of the process of evolution and variation will enrich the understanding of other mammalian groups, whereas the detailed description of a fossil has a much more limited utility. By its very nature, the investigation of process and behaviour has a generality which is lacking in purely descriptive studies. The problems of human evolution are but the special cases of the problems of mammalian evolution, and their solution will enrich paleontology, genetics, and parts of clinical medicine."

"Recently, evolutionary studies have been revitalized and revolutionized by an infusion of genetics into paleontology and systematics. The old physical anthropology was primarily a technique. The common core of the science was measurement of external form with calipers. The new physical anthropology is primarily an area of interest, the desire to understand the process of primate evolution and human variation by the most efficient techniques available. The change is fundamentally one of point of view, which is made possible by an understanding of the way the genetic constitution of populations changes. Population genetics presents the anthropologist with a clearly formulated, experimentally varified, conceptual scheme. The application of this theory to the primates is the immediate test of physical anthropology." "Evolution is best understood by thinking of it as always adaptive." Genes are the determiners of characters. Small differences due to single genes accumulate in the course of evolution, the small differences become major differences. When enough gene differences are accumulated or caused by chromosomal alterations, a new species emerges. If evolution, essentially, is nothing but a change in gene frequencies, it would be necessary to see the processes of genetic changes.

All of us know that genes have their basic characteristics. A gene has either a dominance over its allele, or is recessive. It mutates.

Mutation is a chemical or physical change potentially capable of being transmitted. Mutation in a germinal gene only is what counts for transmission. Most mutations are recessive, and more or less harmful to the organism. Mutation rate in most of the genes is very low. Comparatively genes are stable. Mutation may take place once in thousands of years in a gene. Mutations do not take place in more than one gene at a time. Attempts at producing mutations experimentally by food, humidity, temperature and other environmental factors were unsuccessful. Use of X-rays and other types of irradiation may greatly increase the mutation rate. Genes may get lost by chromosomal deletion or breaking away. Recessive mutations are usually lost.

A second consideration is that, with all these hazards a gene must get a chance of being transmitted, then alone the offspring will be influenced by that gene. And to influence a population, effectively, permanently, gene must get successive similar chances so that its frequency in a population should increase. Such chances would depend on

1. tendencies of populations in selecting mates,
2. rate of fertility in an individual,
3. size of a population,
4. stable or migrating nature of the population,
5. facilities of mixing up of different populations,
6. isolation of a population.

Thus, genetic study is almost entirely dependent on the studies of populations. There are six major points to be taken into account about the studies of genetics.

1. Unit of study must be the population and not the individual. Because it is the breeding population in which genetics is interested, breeding habits of the group under study must be known. To define population limits, one must look for help to both the ecologist and the demographer.
2. Populations cannot be defined by a survey of single characters. Several attributes of population are important subjects for study.
 - (a) Breeding enclaves.
 - (b) Increase of contact of populations by means of rapid communications and rapid transportation.
 - (c) Increase of population.
 - (d) Factors affecting population pressures.
3. Animal experimentation for ecological studies.
4. There is no use in following a combination of traits. Each trait must be traced by itself.
5. Since different approaches yield different racial types, many of the older typological groups will have to be abandoned as the basic unit becomes the population. There should be a shift in

emphasis from classification towards that of understanding the processes of race formation. With the genetic method many races could be ruled out as genetically undemonstrable.

6. Genetic classifications of human groups will have to be set up.

HUMAN ECOLOGY

In studying the relation of the individual to his environment, the individual should be studied in totality, and his environment be conceived of as the universe around him. In studying ecological factors, some of the problems of approach have to be tackled. Genetic study has to be tackled through population studies, and population studies in turn are closely associated with environmental studies. Some problems of *Human Ecology can be considered here.

1. Whether, in the study of human ecology, the distinction commonly made between population and community is valid.
2. It would be necessary to study the effect of each of the several elements on selection and adaptation of the human organism. The particular elements to be taken into consideration would be climate, altitude, nutrition, migration, density of settlement, and the uses of the natural resources made by man, as fertile fields for coordinated investigation.
3. The influence of social organization on biological make-up of a population might be approached with an ecological slant. Mating patterns are obviously amenable to investigation, but other social factors can also have biological effects: as for example, life under a surplus or subsistence economy.

Different phenotypic end-products may result from a differential development of the organism during child rearing,—the factors, such as differences in degree and kind of physical activity at an early age—i.e. ability to swim—as opposed to cultural emphasis on mental activities.

In regard to nutrition and disease the social organization also has an effect on the biological end-product.

4. Human ecology serves to keep in focus two of physical anthropology's most fruitful concepts; those of function and of population. It can serve, therefore, as a framework for the study of such problems as the relation between size and a structure of a population on the one hand, biological change on the other, as well as the nature and relation of genetic and nongenetic factors in man's adaptation to his environment.

* The word Ecology used by Haeckel for the environmental studies, carries an idea, which is expressed in Sanskrit literature by words like "divaukas", "jalaukas" meaning residents of heaven and residents of water. The root in these Sanskrit words "okas=house" is nearly the same as the root in ecology which is "oikos=house (Greek)".

Thus physical anthropology, which studies variation in man, would in future rest on :

- I. Judicious physical measurements and observations
- II. Study of genetics
- III. Population studies or Demography
- IV. Environmental studies or Human Ecology.

Three types of research in physical anthropology can be distinguished.

1. Studies whose goal is addition to the general body of knowledge.
2. Next, comes the intermediate area, where studies border on, and are related to the practice of medicine.
3. The studies primarily meant for practical purposes like trade, etc.

Researches in the intermediate area are more intimate to the man himself. During the past few years, and as a result of having gained unusual experiences in world wars, Medical world is busy changing its old concepts, and reorienting its approaches to man's health. It is seriously thinking that anthropology is its need of the hour. Let us see, therefore, as to how anthropology will help medicine.

THE POSITIVE USEFULNESS OF NEW ANTHROPOLOGY TO REORIENT THE HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS AND CONCEPTS OF DISEASE

It has been observed that anthropological knowledge, if used knowingly and with planning, would be useful in two directions.

- 3.1. First direction would be toward the improvement of organizations in medicine.
- 3.2. Second direction would be toward understanding disease itself.
- 3.1. Organizations in medicine would improve and be more efficient, if social aspects about these are correctly understood. The various considerations, required to be done would be as follows :
 - 3.1.1. The place of medicine in the structure of society.
 - 3.1.2. Cultural knowledge necessary for running the health centres efficiently.
 - 3.1.3. Social relationship between a patient and a physician.
 - 3.1.4. Social sanctions for sickness.
 - 3.1.5. Medical treatment as a social control.
 - 3.1.6. Adoption of modern medical care has to be done carefully, and thoughtfully, if good results are desired.
 - 3.1.7. Medicine as a social group.
 - 3.1.8. Hospitals as social systems.
 - 3.1.9. Wards as social groups of patients.

3.1.1. The place of medicine in the structure of society has long occupied medical historians and increasingly has become a conscious problem for medicine. Stimulated by this interest, social scientists in U.S.A. have come to examine—

1. Medicine as a part of the social systems.
2. Community attitudes towards health, illness, and medical practice.
3. The professional roles associated with medicine.
4. Social structure of the hospitals.
5. The interaction of patients on various kinds of wards and its effects on their progress in treatment.

3.1.2. Foster points to the types of cultural knowledge that a technical aid administrator should have in order to plan the work of health centre effectively.

1. Knowledge of folk medicine.
2. Extent of literacy.
3. Family social organization.
4. Value systems.
5. Local costs of living.
6. Local political organizations.

Further, it is essential to know :

7. Local theories of disease and its treatment.
8. Relationship of the local people to the modern-trained medical people in that area.
9. Food production and consumption.
10. Controlled culture changes, before and after health programmes at intervals.

3.1.3. In any health or medical care programme, much depends on patient-physician (Social) relationship. Waterson says, "the relationship between the doctor and his patient does not exist in vacuum. . . . We have not yet given sufficient attention to the sciences that deal with this aspect of human relations." Both the sick and the physician have a distinct social role, one of the sick sanctioned by the society, and that of the physician developed by his training. Both the sick and the physician have their privileges.

Social role (sick)

1. Exempted from doing some of his normal social obligations.
2. Not held normally responsible for being ill.

Social role (physician)

1. Place the welfare of the patient foremost and grant his essential unconditional support.
2. Assume explicit or implicit control of the sanctions in many areas of the patient's life.

Social role (sick)

3. Defined as being in need of help.
4. Obligated, by the contingent legitimization of the sick role, to try to get well as quickly as possible.

Social role (physician)

3. Have access to physical and mental intimacies of the patient not ordinarily revealed in normal relationships.
4. Be barred from taking advantage of, or reciprocally participating in such intimacies.

3.1.4. Social sanction for sickness :—Social sanction for a sick role varies according to the societies. In individual families an arbitrary decision for sanctioning the sick role may be taken, or may be denied in some circumstances. Even the notion of disease itself depends on the decisions of the society, primitive or sometimes cultured, rather than on objective facts. It is then possible, nay sometimes is observed, in a society's history, to die of a disease, without ever being sanctioned as sick by the society itself.

3.1.5. Medical treatment as a social control :—It is true that all medical care, and particularly Psychotherapy is a process which helps an individual in treatment but it can also be considered, in a wider sense, a form of social control.

3.1.6. Adoption of modern medical care has to be done carefully, and thoughtfully, if good results are desired. If it is true that cultural changes occur with least conflict and confusion along lines of established community patterns, then research in each community should centre around the investigation of the social processes which occur when any health programmes are started. With the national health schemes undertaken by different Indian States, this aspect of investigation should not be lost sight of, if good results are desired. It would not be useful to depend on propaganda, that the modern health programmes are the best, and sorcery, magic spells, prayers, manual rites, ritual dances, etc., are all nonsense. Hsu (1943) observes, "if we follow the thought and ways of culture as expressed through the bearers of culture, Magic and Real knowledge, are not only intertwined, but may even be undistinguished, so that, for reaching one and the same end, the individual oscillates between one and the other, or resorts to both simultaneously, with the greatest facility and ease of mind."

The tendency of doctors, and nurses to ignore, if not to ridicule, folk concepts to illness probably strengthens the popular belief that certain categories of illness are not understood and cannot be treated by modern medical men.

3.1.7. Medicine as a social group :—Medicine is not only a professional but a social group, in which work is carried on within the

framework of an elaborate social machinery rather than in a freely competitive milieu. There are cultural and social aspects of gaining admission to a medical or āyurvedic college (both being separate social groups), getting housemanship jobs, acquiring practice, and developing informal relations with colleagues.

In our country, the nursing profession has not reached the level reached in Europe or U.S.A., still the nurse in India has all the defects of her sister in Western countries. She is caught between writing notes, swabbing throats, and injecting patients. She has neither the time nor the opportunity, to dispense the emotional gratification to the patients. Moreover, such emotional support as she is able to give, is all too often viewed by the nurse herself and by the hospital system as ancillary to her profession and almost unprofessional. Authoritarianism is nearly a rule in nursing schools, and one smells of convent from which nursing has come.

Much of the dissatisfaction expressed by nurses may stem from the lack of an opportunity to replenish and satisfy their own emotional needs.

3.1.8. Hospitals as social systems :—The ratio of modern hospitals to the population in India is very low in comparison with other progressive countries. But those which we have and are having are developing with the defects also inherent in the type of organization. Smith (1949) found that the hospitals show, to a far greater degree than industrial concerns, high interpersonal tensions, bitter conflicts between departments, and an amorphous structure which lacked defined roles and areas of authority and responsibility.

All the basic substructure of a hospital (medical staff, nurses, patients, special services, such as pathological laboratory, X-ray, pharmacy, etc.) are subject to a dual control—one is the acknowledged formal administrative line of authority, the other is the more informal but very potent power of the doctor. Tensions existing between members of these authority systems are often chronic and extreme. The pathologist complains; "My girls in the laboratory have one trouble, every doctor in the hospital is their boss."

A significant difference is pointed out between industries and hospitals: In the industries the actual production work is done by workers at the bottom of authority hierarchy; in hospitals the production workers (the doctors) have high prestige.

A hospital is a system of discrete and mobility-blocked levels within which the consciousness of the status is at a maximum. Unlike almost any other organization for work in the society, a hospital permits of little upward movement, no service worker can become a technician, no technician can become a nurse, and no nurse can become a doctor. If any individual wishes to change his occupational class, he must leave the system for a long period of outside training before

returning at a higher level. Such a structure makes for the development of quite different value systems on various levels, and interpersonal relationships between levels are highly formalised. All this has an important effect on the nature and flow of communications through the system. Such a rigid hierarchical structure is neither administratively the most efficient, nor therapeutically the most efficient setting for patients suffering from difficulties, in getting along with their fellowmen. The need for collaboration research between medicine and on other types of environmental settings more conducive to the successful treatment of physical and mental illness has to be realized.

3.1.9. Wards as social groups of patients :—Patients in a ward are not the aggregate of individuals but a social group, and hence their therapeutic progress may be directly influenced by

1. The nature and the extent of their interpersonal relations with other patients and with staff members;
2. Moreover their observable behaviour, which is a datum of significance for any illness in any hospital, is related, not only to factors in their illness but also to the influence of the situation upon their action.

3.2. Anthropology in understanding disease itself, is becoming of prime importance. The recent interest shown by physicians in the psychological and social concomitants of disease seems to be the resultant of the broad trends,

1. the apparent great increase in the incidence of chronic physical and mental illness in the civilized world,
2. Reawakened interest in the multiple stress and multicausal aspects of all types of disease.

If the collaboration between anthropology and medicine is to prove truly fruitful, it will be probably in this rich unworked area.

Parrot (1945) has pointed out that in U.S.A. 25 millions have some chronic disease and 1 million deaths, and 1,000 million days of disability can be attributed to chronic disease. The leading diseases are Rheumatism, Heart disease, Diseases of the Circulatory System, and Allergic diseases. The increasing control of communicable disease, the progressive reduction in infant mortality, and all round increase in life expectancy have probably brought about a shift in the distribution of age and illness within the population. It looks that mortality would be replaced by morbidity. Increased chronic and mental illness may constitute a diversion of tendencies to deviation from other channels of expression, into the role of illness.

Boas (1910) observes that "consideration of man as a domesticated animal is also of great importance—if some hunting tribes are excepted

—for a clear understanding of his mental processes. We might perhaps say that the range of mentality of the domesticated forms seems to be, on the whole, wider, and this condition increases with increasing degrees of domestication.”

In relation to anthropology the problem of psychosomatics falls within the special field “personality and culture”, which is the study of relation between cultural environment and personality formation. Personality and culture, however, is a new area of study, and in any country a negligible number of anthropologists are engaged in it. Anthropologists should expand their horizons and undertake the cross-cultural studies of psychosomatics. Such studies might be undertaken for the purpose of investigation of the relationship between the cultural factors and psychosomatic illness.

1. Incidence of behaviour disorder and psychosomatic illness, among neighbouring tribes differing in culture and in type, and frequency of disorder might be studied and compared.
2. Where parts of tribe are undergoing acculturation by tribal centres of welfare in India, while other parts of the tribes are relatively untouched, the accultured could be compared with non-accultured.
3. In the culture of India there are many subcultures, influenced by religion, caste, profession, etc. Though some of these have been the objects of study, these studies were purely social, or physical, or socio-physical. With the new angle of personality and culture new reoriented studies will have to be planned by a group of scientists belonging to different disciplines.

NEW DEFINITION OF CULTURE

Jules Henry has stressed the need of reviewing the traditional concepts. If the group of scientists of different disciplines have to work together, with a common aim, it is necessary to make the exchange of ideas easier. Outstanding among the concepts is the concept of “Culture”, around which the future research is to revolve. Concept of culture must be understandable to sociologists, cultural anthropologists, psychiatrists, morphologists, biochemists, physicians and others,—to name the scientists of different disciplines who will have to work in close harmony together. Jules Henry defines “Culture” as “THE INDIVIDUAL’S OR GROUP’S ACQUIRED RESPONSE SYSTEMS.” It makes clear in simple definition that when we study the organism and its patterns of physiologic functions, we have to take into consideration response systems that are determined not only by hereditary processes, but also by events in the external world, since it is the event in the external world that determines the acquired

response system. The definition of culture in terms of acquired characteristics leads us back to Boas' original conception of changes in mental function under the influence of domestication. It is the domestication of *Homo Sapiens* that brings it about, that man has an enormous number of response systems that are not genetically determined.

Conception of culture as response systems acquired through the process of domestication places the so-called psychosomatic disorder within the general process of evolution of the species. These disorders then appear as part of the larger design of the "natural order" and take on a new meaning. One might as well hypothesize that what appears in the clinic as visible dysfunction might be just one of an enormous number of imperceptible changes which are taking place at the same time, but which cause no discomfort. This meaning is simply that culture as an instrument for survival, generates new selective processes through the creation of new response systems. Who shall survive will be determined in part by these selective processes. This argument is an answer, if an anthropologist were to deny psychology a place within the theoretical framework of cultural anthropology. The development of the science of Psychosomatics, the undeniable relationship between mental life and bodily function and survival, place social psychology within the general purview of anthropological research.

Since the human animal has become enormously dependent on acquired response systems, his psychic integration is subject to whatever conditions exist in the "domesticating environment". The more numerous, the more varied, and the more conflicting the response systems the organism is forced to acquire, the more the organism is subject to psychic malfunction. This is what makes it possible to produce neurosis in lower animals also : we force to acquire response systems that are too complicated or too conflicting for their simple organization (domestication of wild animals). The need to develop response systems in excess of one's capacity to do so also produces behaviour disorder in man. The conception of the response systems acquired through domestication gives sense to the notion of the enormously taxing character of the complicated and contradictory "Western Culture".

Thus it can be seen that from the anthropological standpoint of view, psychosomatics may be considered as an aspect of the study of response systems acquired by *Homo Sapiens* during domestication. In the contemporary anthropology, psychosomatics would fall in the field of "personality and culture", the new subject of anthropologic research and investigation.

Anthropologic, medical, and biochemical research among primitive tribes would give additional and needed insight when carried in large

populations and where other conditions make good experimental design possible. It is left to be seen whether Indian scientists would undertake such research in India, where there is a rich field for this type of research.

After consideration of the new definition of culture, it would not be out of place here, to give some thought to the changing concepts of disease.

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF DISEASE

Modern Medicine has developed on a structural basis, a concept originated by Virchow. This structural concept of disease led to the separation of illness from psyche, and disease came to be thought of, as only a disorder of organs and cells. The structural concept, being the basis of thought, naturally developed in thinking in the terms of systemic diseases. With systemic diseases came the specialists to treat these diseases, and with the specialists came the introduction of instruments of precision and the mechanisation of medicine began. Medicine now contented itself with the study of the organism as a group of different systems and as a physiological mechanism, and got impressed by blood chemistry, electrocardiography and other methods of investigation, but unimpressed by, and, indeed, often holding in contempt the psychological background of the patient which was not considered so scientific as the results of the "laboratory studies". This period may, in truth, be referred to as the "Machine Age in Medicine". It is not to be denied, however, that remarkable developments have occurred during the "Laboratory ascendancy", but it must also be admitted that the emotional side of illness had been almost entirely neglected.

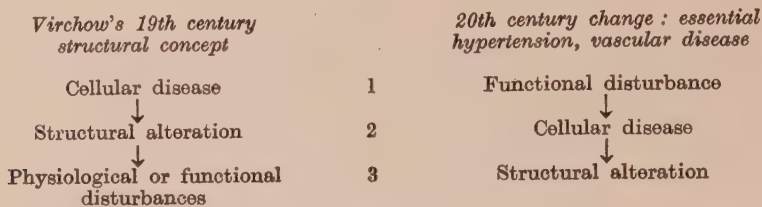
Nineteenth Century concept of disease would be that cellular disease was followed by structural alteration which led to physiological or functional disturbance.

In the twentieth century this formula underwent a change. For example, in Essential Hypertension and vascular disease the formula was altered to read that functional disturbance was followed by cellular disease which led to structural alteration.

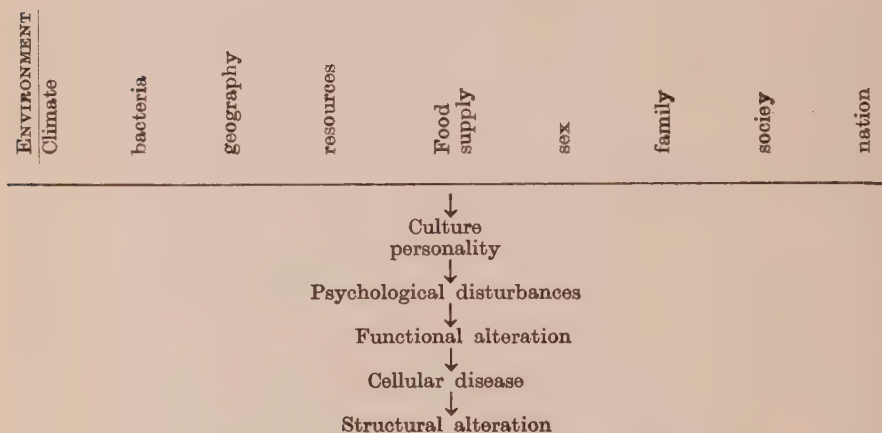
We are still in the dark as to what may precede the functional disturbances. It is quite likely that further investigations may permit us to say that psychological disturbances may precede the functional disturbances.

Psychological disturbances in turn are the effects of environment on personality and culture (with its new definition in mind), which initiate the psychological disturbances.

The concepts of disease changing from time to time are represented thus :—



HYPOTHETICAL FURTHER POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE IN THE CONCEPT OF DISEASE



In ancient medicine, the humoral theory prevailed claiming the fluids of the body to be the carriers of disease. In ancient Indian Medicine, Caraka and Suśruta say, "Therefore a patient should be examined from the following points of view : prakṛti (vāta, pitta, kafa), caste influences, lineage of family, regional influences, weather influences, subjective urges, complexion, voice, malconditions, essences or dominances, body build, body proportions, likes and dislikes, mind power, capacity for physical work, eating and digesting capacity, old age influences." 1.1). Nothing can beat, so far, the considerations about a picture of a patient in his totality as presented by Caraka and Suśruta.

Great political upheavals, caused by too frequent aggressions on India, hampered organized thought and scientific progress in India. Since the seventeenth century, impacts with streamlined Dutch, Portuguese, French, and English, became urgent, and helped to

demolish whatever was left of Caraka and Suśruta, and to create an admiration for the medicine brought by these foreigners. In Europe, its Ancient Medicine was demolished by different events. The Western thought in medicine underwent a great upheaval during the Renaissance. During this period, a method of investigating a cause of disease in the body of a patient by dissecting it after his death developed. "Morgagni, in the middle of the eighteenth century, claimed that the seat of various diseases was in particular organs, such as the heart, kidney, liver, etc. With the introduction of the microscope, the localization of the disease became even more confined, the cell became the seat of disease. It was Virchow, to whom pathology owes so much, who declared that there are no general diseases, only diseases of organs and cells. His great achievements in pathology and his authority established a dogma in cellular pathology, which has influenced medical thinking up to the present day. Virchow's influence upon etiological thought is the classical example of the historical paradox that the greatest accomplishments of the past become the greatest obstacles to further development. The observation of histological changes in diseased organs made possible by the microscope and by the refined techniques of staining tissues determined the pattern or etiological thought. Search of the cause of disease long remained limited to the search for local morphological changes in tissues. The concept that such local anatomical changes may result from more general disturbances which develop in consequence of faulty function, excessive stress, or even emotional factors remained to be discovered much later. The less particularistic humoral theory, which came to be discredited when Virchow defeated its last representative, Rokitsky, had to wait for its revival in the form of modern endocrinology." Stefan Zweig, a non-medical man, in his book 'Mental Healers' says: "Disease meant now no longer what happens to the whole man, but what happens to his organs. . . . And so the natural and original mission of the physician, the approach to disease as a whole, changes into the smaller task of localizing the ailment and identifying it and ascribing it to an already specified group of diseases. . . . This unavoidable objectification and technicalization of therapy in the nineteenth century came to an extreme excess, because between the physician and patient became interpolated a third entirely mechanical thing, the apparatus. The penetrating, creative synthesizing grasp of the born physician became less and less necessary for diagnosis."

It required two great world wars to revive the interest of the physician in the totality of a patient. During these wars, practically all the population of nations turned into active fighters and/or defenders. Soldiers went to camp and fought, torn away from their homes and countries, in far distant lands. They suffered not only from the wounds caused by weapons, but by the effects of strange circumstances

in which they were required to remain for very long periods under mental stresses and strains. Medical science had to investigate and strive hard to keep them fit, and to refit them if maimed either in body or mind, because these wars required huge numbers of able bodied men, and the supply of personnel was limited. Conditions required for blood transfusions, and attempts at understanding other hereditary ailments give birth to modern genetics (1.2). Gene and the concept of heredity got linked. Various pathological diseases were known to be hereditary, and a gene became their carrier. The original concept of disease began to be looked upon with suspicion. The return to the ancient approach to disease and consideration of a patient in his totality, began, because hereditary effects influence not only the whole physical structure of the body, but also organism's function and behaviour. Function and behaviour of an individual form the basis on which the edifice of social science is built.

Alan Gregg makes the following impressive statement :

"The totality that is a human being has been divided for study into parts and systems ; one cannot decry the method but one is not obliged to remain satisfied with its results alone. What brings and keeps our several organs and numerous functions in harmony and federation? And what has medicine to say of the facile separation of "mind" from "Body"? What makes an INDIVIDUAL, what the word implies—not divided? The need for more knowledge here is of an excruciating obviousness. But more than mere need there is a foreshadowing of changes to come. Psychiatry is astir, neurophysiology is crescent, neurosurgery flourishes, and a star still hangs over the cradle of endocrinology. . . . Contributions from other fields are to seek from psychology, CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, and philosophy as well as from chemistry and physics and internal medicine to resolve the dichotomy of mind and body left us by Descartes."

Let us help in bringing out these prophetic changes by intergrating all aspects of ANTHROPOLOGY with MEDICINE.

Let us further hope that the future man lives in happiness, by developing harmony with each other, with all his differences in body and mind.

Lastly, I thank you for having given me an opportunity to express my views, by electing me the President of Anthropology and Archeology Section at the 1958 Session of Indian Science Congress Association.

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POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE KONDMALS

F. G. BAILEY

INTRODUCTION

The Kondmals is a sub-division of Phulbani District, which lies in the hills of western Orissa, to the south of the Mahanadi River. At the present time within the whole field of political activity in the Kondmals at least three distinct structures can be perceived. One of these 'belongs' to the Konds, an aboriginal tribe: a second is the caste system: and the third is the system provided by the bureaucratic administration. I am concerned mostly with these three structures, but I take notice also of a fourth, the representative democracy, although I have less material about this than about the other three structures. In this article I discuss the notion of several structures within a single field, and I ask how far it contributes to our understanding of political change.

In the latter part of this essay I shall describe some of the political changes which have been taking place in the Kondmals, but I shall do so only in outline. All the evidence which led me to make general statements about political activity—in particular case material—will not be included, and I intend to publish it later in another place. Here I discuss the theoretical outline in which the evidence is organized, and I suggest that it may be useful in describing change in other parts of India and elsewhere. But I would make it clear at the outset that this outline was developed in relation to the particular material provided by the political history of the Kondmals, and I emphatically do not claim a general validity for it.

THE DYNAMIC ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURE

Statements about social change are usually presented, explicitly or implicitly, in structural terms. Professor Redfield writes: 'These events . . . lead to a union of people from different castes in what we recognize as classes—people conscious of common cause in the struggle to improve life chances.'¹ Dr. Leach writes: 'If, for example, it can be shown that in a particular locality, over a period of time, a political system composed of equalitarian lineage segments is replaced by a ranked hierarchy of feudal type, we can speak of a

1. McKim Marriott (ed.), *Village India*, Chicago, 1955, p. xi.

change in the formal social structure.¹ Professor Barnes writes: 'The Ngoni Sovereign State has become more and more like a rural district council in a backward area. . . .'² In these three examples there are presented three pairs of structures, if I may put it that way, and it is said that in each of them the first structure is giving way, or could give way, or has given way to the second structure. When later I outline the changes that have taken place in political activity in the Kondmals, I write in just the same way, for it is impossible to describe change, or indeed movement of any kind, without putting up at least two fixed points which serve to indicate the direction of movement. A change, in other words, must be plotted by fixed points if it is to be intelligible. One of the purposes of this article is to examine the 'fixed points' and to see how they can be fitted into an analysis of change.

Words like 'fixed', 'static', 'timeless', and especially 'equilibrium' have become bricks which are thrown at structural analysis. It is said that while the analysis is static or timeless, the society which is analysed is not. But in fact, when a structural analysis is made, the presentation of a static chart of social relationships is only a first stage, and it is followed by deeper analysis which takes account of time and what loosely may be called movement. I shall discuss this 'dynamic' analysis further, since an understanding of it is indispensable to a study of social change.

The basic material of such an analysis is regularized or institutionalized behaviour between *individuals*. These are generalized as statements about relationships between *persons*. The level of structural understanding is reached when generalizations are made about the systematic interconnection of these relationships. We generalize, for instance, about the connection between a political system and a ritual system, or a kinship system and an economic system, and we say that one could not exist in the form that it does without the other. These statements may be made about 'ideal' behaviour, or about 'typical' behaviour: more colloquially, about the 'ought' or about the 'usually do'.

Social relationships are between persons, but in them there is a third element: their content, which is the thing or person about which the two persons are interacting—for instance, about land. Land is itself a variable: it may change by natural accident or in other ways so that the relationship in existence before the change becomes impractical after the change, and an adjustment of some kind becomes necessary. In presenting a static chart of relationships it is assumed that the content of the relationship is held steady and

1. *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, London, 1954, p. 5.

2. *Politics in a Changing Society*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1954, p. 172.

does not vary. There are many other simple examples of this kind of assumption. For instance, in many statements about persons we hold steady the fact that the individuals who in general statements become persons, are born, grow up, grow senile, and eventually die : the *person*, in other words, is ageless and timeless.

No one who has made a structural analysis of any society has been content, to my knowledge, to leave the matter at that point. They do not simply state the norm : the major part of their analysis is taken up with a demonstration of how the structure 'copes with' variations in what I have called the third element. Institutions of succession and inheritance are obvious examples. Another class of institutions within this category are those which deal with deviations and which help to maintain the norm. At this stage the analysis has ceased to be static : it has become dynamic and it deals with movement—not only with 'structural form'¹ but also with 'social circulation'².

The structural form can be conceived of, in this way, as a kind of centre-line, across which is drawn a pattern of oscillation to represent the deviations from the norm, and the return to normality. The fact that there is such a return is the reason for the use of the word 'equilibrium'. In one sense an analysis of this kind involves time, but in another sense the analysis is timeless, in that time is not progressive, so much as cyclical. There is an oscillating pattern of norm, followed by deviation, followed by corrective mechanism, followed in its turn by the norm again.

The oscillations or deviations are caused ultimately by what I have called the 'third element' or, to use a more convenient term, by 'outside' factors. The accepted norm, for instance, in the relationship of persons concerning land, may be upset by the fact that there is too little land to go round, or, conversely, because a particular population dies out and their vacant land is taken by others. This is, of course, only one example, and the reader may think of many more. Some of these appear as conflicts in the behaviour enjoined on the same individual in so far as he is several persons. If a man is both a father and a mother's brother, and is in both roles enjoined to be generous, he may find that in fact he has not sufficient wealth to fulfil both these obligations. Conflicts of this kind often appear to be 'built in' to the structure. A familiar example in India is the conflict of loyalties involved in being both a husband and the member of a joint family.³ A dynamic structural

1. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and function in primitive society*, London, Cohen and West, 1952, p. 192.

2. G. and M. Wilson, *Analysis of social change*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1945, p. 58.

3. S. C. Dube, *Indian village*, London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1955, p. 152.

analysis, once past the preliminary stage of structural form, is concerned with showing that although there are deviations from the norm, such behaviour is deviant (that is, abnormal) and usually is controlled and brought back to the standards of normality by some kind of counter-action. The writer must demonstrate either that deviance and conflict are only apparent, or that, when they do in fact cause a break in the normal relations, there are ways of sealing off the conflict and preventing it from causing anarchy, or of glossing it over so that an ordered social life can continue. In the two examples I have given the corrective mechanism might in India be the *panchayat*—either caste or village—which meets to hear complaints and endeavours to close the breach between the parties. The aim, in short, of a structural analysis is to show that in spite of the potential disruption of social relations which is offered by conflict and deviation, a balance is in the end achieved. There is, in Professor Gluckman's terms, a repetitive equilibrium.

Conflicts of this kind are to be distinguished by the fact that they are resolved or glossed over without any change taking place in the structural form. But in analysing political activity in the Kondmals I found many conflicts which were not of this kind. There is a potential conflict between the role of husband and the role of joint-family member, but this conflict is solved or contained by other institutions for instance by caste *panchayats*. But in another type of institutional conflict—for which the best term is *contradiction*—there are no other institutions which deal with the conflict except by modifying the structural form. The Konds have a rule that anyone who owns land in a particular village must reside there and take on various social obligations which I will describe later. The Administration, on the other hand, rules that proprietary right is obtained by purchase or inheritance or in various other ways and maintained by the payment of land taxes. Their rule does not take into account obligations to the local community. But in this case there is no third institution which is neutral between these two rules, as the *panchayat* is neutral between the parental family and the joint family, if I may put it that way. If the conflict over land rights is taken to a higher court, this court is in fact part of the Administration, and their judgement can only be to insist on their own rule. An appeal to a Government court is not an appeal to a neutral body, but to a sanction regularly maintaining one rule *at the expense of the other*. In other words, *conflict* takes place between institutions within one structure: when the conflicting institutions belong to different structures then this situation is *contradiction*.

In the third part of this article I go on to describe the political structure of the Konds, in so far as it concerned control over land, and I make a dynamic analysis, showing how variations in the land-

population ratio could be adjusted without a change in the structural form. These variations gave rise to conflicts, but not to contradictions.

THE KOND STRUCTURE

The Kond communities with which I am concerned live in the Kondmals. In their dealings with one another, before the coming of the Administration (and ignoring, for the moment, the presence of alien Oriya colonists in their midst) the Konds were divided into localized agnatic clans. Each clan had its own territory, and residence in that territory involved assuming the obligations of an agnatic kinsman towards the rest of the people living there. Speaking more strictly these units are *composite* clans. They are made up of lineages which frankly acknowledge that they are of different descent, but which treat one another as agnatic brothers and take on the rights and obligations which are thought to inhere in this type of kinship link. It is for this reason that I continue to call them 'clans', although there is not even the fiction of a common genealogical descent between all the lineages of any of the clans known to me.

The relationships between the different clans in the eastern Kondmals, the area which I know best, are institutionalized either in friendliness or hostility. Those clans who are friends are linked by agnation or fictions of agnation (blood-brotherhood or adoption) and they do not inter-marry. Conversely the enemy are also the people to whom one's sisters go in marriage and from amongst whom one finds brides. This does not, of course,—mean that there were never fights within clans or between clans in alliance. There were: this is one of the causes which set the system in motion. But it does mean that it was right to fight people from 'in-law' territory, and wrong to fight people who lived on one's own territory and who were agnates, or who lived on territories agnatically related.

The boundaries of each clan-territory were fixed and known, and clan-solidarity was re-inforced by various ritual means connected with the Earth deity as the protector of the clan-territory. This, in its turn, was connected with agnation, since breaches of the rule of exogamy brought about a situation of mystical danger and jeopardized both human and natural fertility. I have not the space to describe the ritual activities of the clan here.

One of the factors making possible the existence of a structural form of this kind is an appropriate ratio between population and land in each clan-territory. In outlining the structural form of the society so far I have assumed that this was always appropriate. But it is clear in fact that this was not always the case, and that sometimes the population of one territory grew too large to be supported on

the land available, and in other territories the population shrank beneath the number which could exploit the territory they owned, and which could protect it from outsiders, who belonged to hostile clans. It is necessary, therefore, to go beyond a 'structural form' analysis, and to discuss the means by which surplus population could be moved from one clan-territory to another, without giving rise to new *types* of social relationships (although, of course, it did, as will be seen shortly, give rise to actual social relations which had not existed before) and without altering the structural form of the total society. I now outline some of these processes, although I, by no means, exhaust the possibilities.

I describe three types of re-adjustment. In the first the clan with a surplus population attacked their neighbours and took their land. In the second the surplus population (or if the movement arose out of internal disputes, the seceding faction) moved off and occupied virgin land, forming a new clan territory, on the model of the one which they had just left. In the third adjustment sections of the population in a crowded clan-territory moved away and allied themselves to other clans which had or could conquer extra land to support the larger population. I could document all three processes.

In the second process the new clan was internally-with the passage of time-of the same structural form as the clan of which it was an offshoot. Externally it fitted into the total structure by retaining agnatic ties with the parent clan. There could be no marriages between these clans, and it would be wrong for them to fight against one another. The return to equilibrium in the total structure is here easily comprehended.

In the first process—that of conquering new territory—the fate of those who were defeated is the crucial point in the maintenance of structural form. Conquest can lead to permanent subordination and institutionalized dependence. But there is no room for this kind of relationship in the structural form of the Kond clans. There seem to have been two possibilities. Firstly, the conquered population were exterminated, being either killed or driven out. Secondly, they could remain on their old territory and form a new lineage in the composite clan of their conquerors. Both these processes seem to have taken place.

The third alternative—that of the migration of a section of the population of one clan and its union with another clan—is similar in its essentials to the one just discussed. The migrating segment became a part of the composite clan which owned the territory on which the newcomers were settling.

In the second and third processes I have described the *internal* adjustment which preserved the structural form of clans. But the crucial point is their *external* relationship, especially when sections

migrated and joined a clan which was the 'in-law' and, therefore, the enemy of the parent clan. There is clear evidence that in this case the agnatic links which the migrating section retained with its parent were not allowed to have political significance, at least not in the long run. The migrating segment still could not marry into its true parent clan, nor could it marry into the composite clan which it joined. As far as exogamy was concerned the migrating section now had double ties. But the political obligations which were expressed in terms of agnation lay entirely with the clan which the migrants joined, and on whose territory they were living. I have no doubt that for a generation or two there was some modification in the pattern of institutionalized hostility between a migrant section and the parent clan which it had left, but this was not allowed to blur the political boundaries. In spite of these cross-linkages of agnatic kinship, the main political cleavage remained between territorial groups which expressed their unity in terms of agnatic kinship.

I have here presented the structural form of the Kond political system in outline, and I have described one of the processes (one among many) which must be taken into account in a dynamic analysis. An 'outside' factor—the land-population ratio—may make it impossible to preserve existing relationships. These are changed, but through various institutions—in the cases considered through various fictitious forms of agnation—the original form of the society is preserved and equilibrium is reached once again. In the structure so far presented there are conflicts, which can be solved without changing the structural form, but there are no contradictions.

THE ORIYA STRUCTURE

I have presented the Kond political structure, as if Konds were the only people present in the Kondmals, and as if they had political relationships with no one else. But in fact this is not the case to-day, and it appears not to have been the case (if we can trust the annals of the neighbouring Oriya State of Boad) for at least one thousand years. I deal in this section with the political organization of the Oriyas who lived in the Kond hills. Here I describe the Oriya system, as I did the Kond system, in abstraction from other systems of political relationships. In a following section I shall consider Kond-Oriya relations. Again I would add that this is an outline description. I have in part described this system elsewhere,¹ and I intend to give a fuller account in another publication.

1. F. G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier*, Manchester Univ., Press, 1957.

The Oriyas founded a number of fortified villages in the Kond hills and each village controlled a limited area around its own settlement. The population of these villages was divided into castes, the main categories being a dominant caste of WARRIORS¹ in control of the village, a category of village servants (BARBER, HERDSMAN, BRAHMIN, and so forth), and thirdly, a category of agricultural labourers, the majority of whom were PAN untouchables. The WARRIORS controlled the land, farmed it with the help of their untouchable retainers, and were the main body of fighting men who protected the village both from the Konds and from other Oriya settlements.

The main political cleavage in this society was *not* between castes in a village, but between villages as corporate groups led by the WARRIORS. Oriya villages seem to have been hostile to one another, and although they occasionally combined under the leadership of the Boad King, for the most part the maximal unit of political activity was the village.

The appropriate ratio in numbers of masters to servants was kept in balance by migration. The migrants assumed in their new location the same *kind* of relationships which they had in their old location. In the dominant caste there is some evidence for the accretion of migrant groups through fictitious agnation to the dominant caste of the villages which they joined, but also they seem frequently to have founded new settlements by driving the Konds from the better cultivating sites.

KONDS AND ORIYAS

It is possible to build up a fairly coherent outline of the interaction of Konds and Oriyas before the coming of the Administration, although with the distance in time and the absence of documents there is a lack of corroborative detail and many questions remain unanswered. Secondly, the generalizations I make cover a period of at least a thousand years and may well be inaccurate, because we have in that period practically no evidence of development and change in political relationships.

It is first of all clear that the Konds were attached to the King of Boad State and to the Oriya chiefs in the Kondmals by the loosest of 'feudal' ties. They have been termed the 'subordinate allies' of the ruling groups among the Oriyas. There are traditions among the Konds of having taken part in military expeditions led by the Boad King and in smaller battles under the leadership of the Oriya chiefs resident in the Kond hills. Furthermore many Kond families

1. The names of most castes are put into English and written in capital letters.

in the eastern Kondmals bear as their lineage names titles of service under the Boad King. Those whose names indicate kingly service claim that their ancestors served the King of Boad. Those who bear other names say that such people are bastard lineages sprung from the union of a Kond woman and an Oriya of that name.

However the control exercised by Oriya leaders, whether the Boad King or the chief of a fortified village in the Kondmals, was slight. It was maintained by finesse, and by charismatic qualities, and the Oriyas never had sufficient force at their command to undertake a systematic conquest of the Kond country. A further and important reason for the relative strength of the 'subordinate ally' was the segmentary nature of Oriya society in the Kond hills and of the feudal kingdoms from which they came. In all these kingdoms there seem to have been periodical rebellions: the king had very little control over the chiefs in the Kond hills and they did not look to him for support: finally, as I have already said, in the Kond hills the Oriya villages were maximal units of political activity. So far from combining with one another in a concerted effort to bring the Konds to heel, they fought against one another and enlisted the support of the Konds in this fight. In these circumstances it seems to have been easy for Kond groups to play off one Oriya chief against another, and to transfer their allegiance from a chief who had offended them to his enemy. There is documentary evidence of an event of this kind just before the British came to the Kond hills.

I have now enlarged my description of the field of political activity in the Kond hills. There are first the Kond institutions and the Kond political society in which the main cleavage lay between localized composite clans, using the idiom of agnation. Secondly, there are Oriya settlements, internally organized on the basis of caste, and externally forming an egalitarian segmentary system like that of the Konds, the key category being the dominant WARRIOR group. In both these cases it is possible to describe a structure proper—that is to say, to postulate connections between whole fields of regularities, between, say, the political system and the ritual system—between, for example, the political structure and caste rituals in an Oriya village, or between kinship and politics and ritual in the Kond system. But beyond these two there is a third field of political activity between Konds and Oriyas of the kind I have outlined in the first part of this section, and here I do not think it is possible to find a structural form of the same kind as in the two constituent fields. Rather this situation is to be described as two structures in contradiction with one another.

For many centuries there seems to have been a stalemate. The Konds were not strong enough to exterminate the Oriya colonies. The dominant group among the Oriyas, in their turn, were not strong enough or sufficiently united to undertake a systematic conquest of

the Konds. The contradiction between their political systems remained potential rather than actual and only came to the surface when the British arrived and gave to the Oriyas sufficient power to begin to impose their system upon the Konds.

PACIFICATION AND POLITICAL CHANGE

I have outlined elsewhere the story of the Meriah wars and the coming of the British to the Kond hills.¹ These events took place between 1832 and 1850. In 1855 a regular civilian administration was established. The resources of the administrators were very slight and they were forced to govern through existing institutions. The existing Kond clan territories, which had already fairly clearly demarcated boundaries and were named, were taken over and used as units for administration. The Tahsildar, who himself was an Oriya, governed through Oriya-speaking men. Some of these, in the eastern plateau of the Kondmials, were Konds. Elsewhere they were the Oriya chieftains whose role I discussed in the last section. The reasons for this policy were firstly the obvious one that the Tahsildar and his staff knew Oriya but did not know the Kond language: secondly, they liked to have key person to whom they could delegate responsibility. Thirdly, from their experience elsewhere they were used to dealing with headmen and with villages, and were entirely unfamiliar with the egalitarian segmentary type of political organization of the Konds, which I described in the first part of this article. They were also, of course, relatively familiar with a caste organization. In short, the first effect of the coming of the Administration was to put power into the hands of the Oriyas, and to upset the balance which—from the evidence available—we concluded had existed for a thousand or more years in the Kond hills between Kond and Oriya.

In a previous section I described the processes by which within the Kond system a balance was maintained between land and population, and how there could be re-adjustments in this without upsetting the structural form of Kond society. This adjustment was effected by the rule that those who came to a territory must take on ties of fictitious agnation with the owners of that territory. There were certain changes effected in this process by the presence of the Administration. Firstly, it was no longer possible for a clan to expand its territory by conquest, since warfare was put down. Secondly, the presence of the Administration resulted in an ending of the process of external recruitment and the taking on of ties of fictitious agnation, at the level of the clans. I shall discuss this in greater detail.

1. F. G. Bailey, *op. cit.*

There are today in every clan-territory which I examined two categories of villages : those which live on their 'own earth' and those which live on 'bought earth'. Those who live on 'bought earth' acknowledge that they are living within the boundaries of a clan to which they do not belong and they marry with these people and have no fiction of agnation whatsoever with them. Those who live on their 'own earth', in spite of the composite nature of the clan, consider themselves to be one clan. That is to say, they acknowledge that they came from another place, but by living on the same territory they have come to act as brothers. In every case those who lived on 'bought earth' had come to their present location after the time that the Administration came to the area : those who had taken on the rights and obligations of agnates had come to their present location in the distant past before the Administration arrived in the area.

Before the coming of the Administration a man's rights to land were protected by his membership of the clan which owned the territory on which he lived. The other members of the clan protected him and their joint territory against outsiders, and he was expected to play his part in making the clan an effective political unit. After the Administration came to the area a right to land was no longer validated by membership of a clan and land could no longer be protected or gained by warlike action. The source of power lay with the Administration and it was they who protected property. In other words, the status now relevant to the holding and protecting of property was no longer membership of a composite clan, but—putting it a little ambitiously for that time—citizenship of India.

For many years this citizenship was mediated—and to some extent it still is—through the Oriya or Kond *sirdar* who was in charge of the clan-territory. Access to the Government and an exercise of the rights which the Government guaranteed could best be got by a dependent relationship on the *sirdar*. Consequently the contradiction can be phrased as between the Kond political system and the Oriya system of lord and retainer, although, of course, the factor operative is the presence of the Administration.

Before the coming of the Administration readjustments of population to land did not alter the structural form of Kond society. After the Administration arrived, although a certain stability was achieved by the ending of warfare, differential population growth continued to upset the land population ratio. Indeed, the 'land-grabbers' who followed in the wake of the Administration contributed to instability by taking land from Konds. In other words, movement between territories of surplus or displaced population continued. But now the readjustment began to alter the structural form of Kond society. Migrants to a new territory no longer found it necessary or advantageous to join the clans on whose territory they settled. They bought

the land and then secured their status by getting the backing of the *sirdar* and through him of the Government. The old clans continued in existence, and have done so up to the present day, but they are now maintained by internal recruitment alone. Some have dwindled away until they now consist only of a few families. Others still occupy the bulk of the territory which bears their name. But every migration, every readjustment of population to land, represented a 'running down of stocks' in the old Kond political structure, and an increase in the number of people who did not belong to any territorial clan, but who, as political persons, belonged to a group made up of a chief and his dependents. As a result of this the *political* activities of the clan have dwindled almost to nothing.

KONDS AND THE CASTE SYSTEM

By fixing the boundaries between the clan territories and by putting an end to warfare, the Administration weakened the tribal political system. Before the coming of the Administration a Kond group could play off one Oriya chief against another and transfer their allegiance when it suited them to do so. Afterwards this was no longer possible, for a change of this kind would have to be ratified by Administrative recognition of new boundaries, and, so far as I know, this did not happen. Further, as I have explained in the last section, every migration decreased the number of persons who belonged to a territorial clan and increased the number of those whose citizenship was achieved by a relationship with the Government mediated through the Oriya chief.

In addition to this there were various economic processes at work tending to bring individual Konds into relationships of dependence, typical of the caste system and not differing in any essential from the relationships which the men of low caste held at that time towards the dominant WARRIORS. By establishing secure conditions and by making residence and travel safe within the Kond hills for outsiders, the Administration made it possible for a large number of Oriyas of the mercantile class to come into the Kond hills and to set up various kinds of business there. From then on the aboriginals began to lose land to mercantile outsiders. This is a familiar process and I have myself described it at length elsewhere.¹

Those Konds who lost their land either through mercantile processes or through manipulation of the rules of the Administration by the Oriyas who were advantageously placed, had to find some other means of making a living. Some of these migrated, as individual families or in small groups, to the marginal areas in the remoter

1. F. G. Bailey, *op. cit.*

valleys and there brought new land under cultivation. At some periods it was possible for them to migrate as labourers to the Tea Gardens of Assam. A very few of them found jobs with the Administration or in the world of commerce. But many of them, sooner or later, drifted into the larger Oriya villages and made their living either as plough servants or as casual labourers under the patronage of an Oriya, who was sometimes a WARRIOR and sometimes a member of the recently arrived mercantile castes, prominent among whom were the DISTILLERS.¹ These persons were, in most respects, in the same position economically as, for instance, the untouchable labourers and other dependent castes. The Konds who stayed in their own villages, whether these villages were still part of a territorial clan, or whether they were immigrants and dependents upon a *sirdar*, owned land and had direct access to its produce through their own labour. But those who came to Oriya villages achieved their share in the produce of the land by a dependent relationship as individuals upon their WARRIOR or DISTILLER masters. Konds in their own villages were still members of corporate groups—in some cases a village and a clan and in some cases only a village—with at least vestigial political functions. The Konds who came to Oriya villages were not full citizens in any corporate political groups. They were individuals dependent on upper caste masters, just as were untouchables and other dependent castes, and as such they were 'second-class' citizens.

However, even taking together the original Oriya colonists and those who had come in the wake of the Administration, the total number of Oriyas was small in relation to the total number of Konds. This was due to several factors, prominent among which was the evil reputation of the climate of the Kondmals. Again, the Administration looked with disfavour upon the alienation of Kond land, and took various measures to prevent it. These measures were not entirely successful, but they did prevent any considerable elimination of the Konds as landowners and as 'first-class' citizens. These developments I consider in the following section :

The developments outlined in this and last section can be seen as a contest between the Konds and the Oriyas, and, metaphorically, as a contest between their respective political structures. Up to now I have described the process by which Konds were brought to behave in the Oriya model and were to some degree integrated into the Oriya system. The Konds, as persons in a tribal structure, have never had any effective answer to this. But within the framework of the Administration, which has moved from ambivalence to dislike of the caste system, the Konds began to hold their own. Most

1. F. G. Bailey, *op. cit.*, Chapters IX and X.

recently, in the period of parliamentary democracy, they are beginning to hold the upper hand.

THE ADMINISTRATION, THE ECONOMY, AND KOND 'NATIONALISM'

The use which the Administration made of the resident Oriya population, particularly the chiefs, and the implicit support which they seemed to give both to these men and to the immigrant mercantile castes, must have intensified the cleavage between Kond and Oriya. Initially at least, it must have seemed to the Konds that the Administration was all on the side of the Oriyas.

The way in which the economy has developed has done nothing to bridge this cleavage or to blur the sharp division between the two peoples. As I have described, for a long time the Konds were the exploited and the Oriyas were the exploiters. As the trading economy has developed further the Konds and the Oriyas have also become something like two separate and opposed classes, not overtly divided by exploitation, as in the process of 'land-grabbing', but on the lines of specialization. The Konds have become the producers of a cash-crop, turmeric. The Oriyas are the middlemen who buy the turmeric and transfer it to the larger wholesalers. In this field the Oriyas have a stereotype of the Konds as a hard-working but foolish person, good enough to go through the toil of growing turmeric, but not clever enough to handle its marketing. The Kond stereotype of the typical Oriya is the reverse of this: a cunning trader, evading the labour of growing turmeric, but profiting in trade from his wits and lack of scruple. This, of course, is not an uncommon attitude among both producers and consumers towards middlemen and it contains the hint of exploitation. But at this stage I would rather emphasize the aspect of specialization, and the division of the two people into opposed economic classes, each class having at least a potential economic interest against the other—potential in that it can result in common action and a common programme within each group designed to further its own ends at the expense of the other.

This cleavage has been encouraged, perhaps inadvertently, by Government policy. The British Administrators, who followed the first Tahsildar, disliked the mercantile Oriyas, had a milder dislike for the anciently-settled Oriyas, and tended to favour the 'simple' Konds. The same was true of Missionaries who made more converts among the Adibasis and untouchables than among the Hindu population. Various measures were put into operation to protect the Konds and to prevent the Oriyas from profiting from a rigid administration. The area has always been administered as an Agency and

relatively great discretion was put into the hands of the Magistrate. Drink shops were closed and the profits of the DISTILLER castes came to an end to the benefit of the Konds. Restrictions were put upon the transfer of land between Kond and non-Kond. Kond lands were not subject to the ordinary land-tax, but Konds paid a 'voluntary' tax at a low rate, assessed on the ownership of ploughs, and the sum raised was doubled out of Government funds and used for building schools and roads in the Kondmals.

The Oriyas found ways and means of evading the restrictions on the transfer of land, but undoubtedly the intervention of the Administration has prevented the complete pauperization of the Konds. It has also served to give the Konds a wider sense of their own unity, and of their opposition to the Oriyas, transcending the division between the clans, and making the local cleavages between Oriya chiefs and the Kond clans into a wider cleavage between the Oriya community and the Kond community.

Since Independence this process has been quickened and the policy of giving protection and privilege to the Adibasis has been extended beyond a narrow and negative field. Konds are given preferential status in education and in employment by the Administration. They have not as yet profited to any great extent from these opportunities but at least they are firmly aware of their status as Adibasis, and very conscious of the privileges which it carries. The Oriyas who live in the Kond hills now see themselves as the victims of Government policy and feel that the dice has come to be heavily loaded against them. They say jokingly that they would like to be classed as Adibasis, or more realistically, that the privileges extended to Konds should be given to all the cultivating classes in the Kond hills.

SANSKRITIZATION

Both in India generally and in the Kondmals the policy of the Administration has wavered between the two extremes of protection (pejoratively called the 'Tribal Zoo'), and allowing unrestricted assimilation. At the present day the intention is to guide assimilation until the Aborigines are able to hold their own with the more sophisticated populations of the plains. This conflict of opinion appeared from the first moment the British set foot in the Kond hills, and its history, broadly speaking, is a movement away from protection and conservation, as ends in themselves, towards eventual assimilation, even though the means of achieving this may mean a temporary intensification of protective measures. The policy, in other words, has come to be protective, but not conservative. I have not mentioned this conflict of policy in previous sections, because whatever

the end in view, and whatever the means employed, the effect was usually to make the Konds aware of the fact that they were different from the Oriyas and opposed to them.

It is at first sight a paradox that while the Konds are pleased to insist that they are Adibasis—for obvious reasons—and while they maintain a traditional hatred of Oriyas (although, of course, there are frequent friendly relations between individuals), they are, nevertheless progressively discarding their own customs and assuming what they consider Oriya customs. There is, of course, a variation between individuals, but even the most 'Oriya-ized' Kond—in the eastern Kondmals at least—is respected by other Konds for his behaviour, and it is not thought illogical to combine outspoken dislike of Oriyas, and outspoken defence of Kond value and custom, with implicit acceptance of Oriya values. The Konds, in other words, are being Sanskritized.

'Sanskritization' is an unpopular word (even with its author¹), but it is a convenient label for a recognizable process, and I think that time spent in justifying a different verbal monstrosity (Brahmanization, Sanskarization, etc.) would be time wasted. It is the process, and not the name attached to it, which is of interest. Here I have no intention of making an extended analysis of the process, and I intend only to account for the apparent paradox in Kond behaviour. When they are vehemently in favour of their own culture (at least in words) and while they have everything to gain from emphasizing their difference from Oriyas, nevertheless, progressive Konds take on the manners and customs of a Hindu gentleman, and are not spurned by their fellow-Konds for doing so.

'Sanskritic' culture is the culture of the nation and is an India-wide hallmark of respectability, particularly of political respectability. During the independence movement it was one of the symbols of anti-British feeling, and since Independence it has served to give a homespun covering to the predominantly British and western institutions through which the country is governed. I would risk a wide generalization that the politician who depends on popular support is suspect if he is too westernized, and if he is too uncouth he becomes the butt of his fellows. It is, for this reason, I think, that the Konds become more and more willing to take on the model of Hindu behaviour which they get from contacts with Oriyas. As they become more and more integrated into State politics they begin to accept standards of behaviour which are respectable in the State capital. This applies particularly to those few Konds who are active in State politics. But among the Konds, at least of the eastern Kondmals, there is a

1. M. N. Srinivas, 'A note on Sanskritization and Westernization' in *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 4, p.495.

general awareness derived partly from their own sophisticated people and partly from local Oriyas who loudly ridicule Kond custom, that although it may be a concrete advantage to be designated 'Adibasi', it is not a source of prestige.¹

I would not claim that this is a general explanation of Sanskritization and the motives of those who practise it. Clearly all instances of Sanskritization are not connected only with the modern parliamentary system. Nor would I claim that this is a full account of Kond motives in adopting Oriya customs. For many these customs are respected as ends in themselves and accepted as mystical values. But whatever the motive, it is sufficient for my argument that Sanskritic behaviour furthers the aims of the Konds in the modern political system, and that some Konds know this.

CONCLUSIONS

It became clear quite early in my field-work in the Kondmals that I would not be able to fit all the complex political activity into the framework of one social structure. There were evident and glaring contradictions. For instance, the ritual attitudes, which the WARRIORS and most of the Untouchables in the Oriya village of Bisipara agreed were appropriate, were in complete contradiction to their political relationship. In a structural analysis the various elements—political, ritual, economic, and so forth—have in the end to be consistent with one another and may not tend towards mutual destruction. But the ritual behaviour of the Untouchables could not be fitted with their political status into one coherent structure. The relationship between these two ways of behaving, whatever else it was, was not one of those 'elements of persistence and continuity'.²

A field of social behaviour of this kind could not be analysed without taking into account social change—not, at least, if any degree of completeness were to be achieved. To make an analysis as of 'one structure' would have meant discarding much of the primary data. Even a cursory glance at the history of the Kond hills—the Meriah Wars and the modern cataclysm of Independence—points at change.

It is not difficult to give a common-sense description of the changes and their direction. A tribal society became intermingled with people whose lives were ordered by the caste system, and both these, in their turn, have become involved in a 'modern' political system

1. Professor D. N. Majumdar informs me that in metropolitan Orissa, 'Kond' is an epithet equivalent to 'bumpkin' or even 'Boeotian'.

2. R. Firth, 'Some Principles of Social Organization', in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 85, 1955, p. 2.

(using that term as a convenient short reference to the bureaucratic administration and the parliamentary democracy). But even at this level qualifications need to be made. Although the direction of change is from tribe to caste into a modern system, the Konds are not moving through all these stages. Their excursion into the caste system has been brief, since before they became completely involved that system was itself modified and changed by the Administration, and it now seems that the Konds will never become a dependent caste divided between small chieftaincies. They, with other Adibasis, are becoming a pressure group in State politics.

A more detailed description of this change is made by describing the three structures—tribe, caste, and the modern system, which may, with a touch of grandiloquence, be called the nation. For each of these structures we postulate several interconnected systems, as the Kond kinship system is connected with political control over land, and so forth. I have done this in some detail for the tribal system. For reasons of space I have given a very brief outline of the caste structure, and I have said little of the 'nation' as a structure, because I do not know enough about it.

The abstraction and isolation of a structure of this kind serves two purposes. Firstly, it enables the course of change to be 'plotted', as the direction of movement is plotted on a map. Secondly, it is a heuristic device for identifying contradictions, between what at first sight are assumed to be interconnected parts of one structure. It highlights the points of contradiction and diagnoses the processes through which change comes about. I would cite again the example of the Oriyas of dominant caste and the Untouchable Oriyas, whose ritual relationship contradicts their political relationship.

The ultimate aim in describing social change is two-fold: first, to plot the course of change: second, to describe the process through which individuals discard a relationship which belongs to one structure and take on a relationship which belongs to a different structure. I have considered in this article mainly relationships through which a man achieves control over land, and, to a lesser extent, relationships through which he achieves other economic ends. In the tribal structure the main political cleavages ran between the Kond clans, and the political 'arena' was filled with clans in competition with one another. After this, for some Konds it became more effective to give their allegiance to a chieftain, and they became divided from one another by the cleavages between these chieftaincies. There was also in this situation a cleavage between the chief and those Kond clans in his neighbourhood, who denied him allegiance or gave him only partial allegiance. Later, with the advent of the Administration and a mercantile economy, there were two developments: firstly, the cleavage between Kond clans ceased to

have political significance: secondly, the local cleavages between Kond and Oriya became generalized in the framework of the Administration and State politics, as a cleavage between Konds undifferentiated by clan and Oriyas undifferentiated by chieftaincy. In short, in order to understand what has happened and is happening a progressively wider arena of competition must be envisaged.

The conflicts which exist within a structure seem to be a crucial guide to one of the processes of social change. Examining the structure as an abstraction, we see that there are various institutions which serve to contain or to gloss over these conflicts, and to conserve the structural form. But in a situation of change, these conflicts project people out of one structure into another, if I may reify in order to be brief. Conflicts which resulted in migration since the third or fourth decade of the nineteenth century have in effect eroded the territorial clans and have built up the 'chieftaincies'. Economic conflict between Konds and Oriyas brought about the intervention of the Administration, and this intervention has caused both parties to attempt to further their ends not only within local arenas but also to claim their rights as citizens in the wider arena of State politics. This process tends to erode loyalties both to the clan and to the chief.

But looking for conflict and contradiction is not the only guide to understanding social change.¹ In this article conflict has been my main guide, but there are others which would have to be employed in a more extensive analysis. It would be important to identify the roles which facilitate movement from one structure to another: examples at the present day are the sophisticated Konds who now operate on the margins of State politics; the agents of the political parties who work among the Konds; and the many people whose job it is to guide the Konds towards assimilation with the rest of the population of Orissa.

One line of investigation which is opening up in India and elsewhere is implicit throughout this article. It is an effort to widen the field of research and extend the horizons, both in time and space. I have tried to push my investigations outwards from the village to the region, and to consider not only the present but also the past and the future. To visualize activity within a general field and to see several structures impinging on one another within this field, may help in certain situations (but not, I repeat, in all) to describe social change, and to identify the process and roles through which it takes place. It may also make it possible, while yet using the traditional anthropological techniques developed in small-group research, to achieve some understanding not only of one small group, but also of the region, or country, or even civilization of which it forms a part.

1. I gladly acknowledge the stimulus of conversation on this topic with Professor Max Gluckman, and of his book *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1955.

KWAI (BETEL) AMONG THE KHASIS*

LEELA SACHDEVA

Kwai is the Khasi name for betel nut. Betel-chewing is considered to be a habit, Austric in origin. The Khasis are a Mongoloid race, Austric in culture, and so a study of the betel habit among them may prove interesting from the anthropological point of view.

No technical acumen is, however, required to perceive the universality of this habit among the Khasis. The most casual visitor to the K. and J. Hills will notice, and cannot help noticing, how inveterate chewers of betel these people are. Children and aged persons, men and women, town and country people, educated and uneducated all are equally partial to it. Indeed it is even told that in the past, distance was measured not by time taken to cover it, nor by the number of steps taken, but by the number of *Kwai* chewed on the way. From the morning when they get up till night when they go to bed, their mouth is never empty of it, and they always carry ample stocks with them to keep their mouths full. Whether at home or outside, Khasi etiquette requires exchange of *Kwai* as a mark of good breeding and if one fails to observe it, he fails in good manners. The host must welcome the guest with it and chance meeting on the street must be followed with the reciprocal offer of *Kwai*. Nothing can be done without it. No social function is complete without it. The reception at social gathering starts with it and social etiquette demands that *Kwai* should be offered and taken for a correct leave-taking at the end. In social ceremonies of solemn nature it assumes almost a spiritual significance. The marriage ceremony may be taken as an example. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the exchange of *Kwai* by the groom and the bride is a major part of the celebration. The groom puts *Kwai* in the right hand of the bride and receives one from her in return. After that, friends of both exchange betels, after which only the marriage is considered to have been properly solemnized. In other parts, however, this exchange was formerly done in terms of liquor. After a boy and a girl had been declared man and wife, liquor from

* The article is based on original field research carried out by the writer and statements of the local people. The writer was a member of the Assam Station of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, Shillong, and carried out field research for the Department among the Khasis of southern—western border of the K. and J. Hills on various missions from 1954 to 1956. A part of field research was carried out in Shillong capital sub-division of the Khasi Hills from 1st March 1957, to 1st April 1957.

two sets of gourd vessels representing the bride's and groom's parties was served to symbolize the union and then the couple ate from the same plate to demonstrate their oneness. Now that most of the Khasis have embraced Christianity which looks with disfavour on drinking in such ceremonies, they have replaced liquor by *Kwai*. This in turn has spread among the non-Christians also.

As in marriage, so also in divorce, betel is used to symbolize the main object of the ceremony. Usually divorce is effected by a public declaration accompanied with a ceremony which is as follows. The husband gives five coins, the indigenous 'cowries' or copper 'paisas', to the wife. She gives them back to him with five of her own. He then throws them away. Now this ceremony is occasionally dispensed with and the dissolution of marriage is epitomised in the simple but the dramatically eloquent act of tearing a betel leaf in two.

The importance of *Kwai* is again no less in the mournful ceremonies connected with death. The dead body is generally kept for three days in the house and meals consisting of rice, curry and bananas are offered to it. And *Kwai* too must be there and it must be offered if the displeasure of the departed soul has to be averted. I attended the funeral of an old lady at Mawsmal village, 2 miles to the east of Chirapunji, in November, 1954. When fire was set to the pyre, the youngest daughter, or the *Ka Khaddukh* as she is known, because she inherits the ancestral property, put a *Kwai* on it and she was followed in this by all present. The significance of placing *Kwai* on the pyre does not end here. It implies also that the departing soul takes it along with it to the realm of the dead so that it might not miss the luxury of betel chewing there, and so the Khasis never speak of any one dying. "None die but all go to the abode of God and chew betel there". (*Bam Kwai haing U Blei*).

The story goes that a kind of demon-worship (*shower*) requires that *Kwai* should be poisoned, leading to the death of *unsuspecting* victims. *Kwai* is the medium to poison a person. The girls use *Kwai* as a charm to win the boys in the 'War Khasi' country.

In everyday life it is a symbol of friendly greetings, and at feasts, social or of any other type, brisk circulation of *Kwai* among the assemblage is a *sine qua non*. Ladies, especially experienced and skilful in this, are selected with great circumspection and entrusted with the distribution of this most important item of reception. Even labourers would expect *Kwai* over and above their wages.

As is natural in such cases, great virtues have been attributed to this national beverage which apparently does not fall in the category of essential commodities for the maintenance of life. The Khasis consider it to be rich in food value, highly efficacious for generating energy and heat in the system. The perspiration caused by chewing it is thought to accelerate the natural process it represents. Lime,

one of the ingredients, makes up calcium deficiency and prevents diseases caused by it. Though the teeth get stained, but grow strong with exercise and lime. It is said to possess digestive properties and so is preventive of constipation.

It maintains a constant flow of saliva, which enables them to walk long distances without food and drink and without the consequent pangs of thirst and hunger. Indeed, it can, it is believed, sustain them in hunger with its rich nourishing qualities.

I was also told that *Kwai* contains protein, calcium, phosphorus, vitamin 'C', iron and water, and has got high caloric value. It is free from citric and tartaric acids. It has been found preventive of gout and is taken by the people as a medicine and a general tonic.

Kwai along with *tympew* (i.e. betel leaf) forms one of the main crops on the southern slopes of the Khasi highland and a major item of the trade with the Sylhetese and other neighbouring sections of the Khasis. In fact, the city of Gauhati derives its name from *guwa*—*Kwai*, for originally it was a centre of a great *tympew* and *Kwai* trade. A similar trade in the same articles used to flourish in the southern border of the country where Shella, Bhologanj and Mowdon were the important market centres. The political partition of the country has placed serious obstacles on this trade which used to be with the Sylhetese—now aliens, (Pakistanis), and so it is being slowly diverted northwards, to Shillong.

Prices of such articles are always fluctuating. It can be said, however, that on the average *Kwai* is sold at the rate of four for six naya paisá if of small size, and three for the same price if of a bigger size. *Tympew* fetches about thirty n.P for a bundle of 25 leaves.

The tree that yields *Kwai* belongs to the family of palms and is said to be a native of Malaya. It grows slender and straight, its unbranched stem reaching 40 to 50 ft. in height and 1½ ft. in circumference at the base with a slow taper upwards. It is crowned at the top with six to nine very large spreading pinnate fronds, which go up higher on the stem making rings in the process. Spans between the rings then indicate the age of the tree.

The fruits grow in bunches at the top and are of the size of a small hen's eggs and like diminutive cocounts in shape. Like coconuts a film rind covers in this case a seed or a nut. It is hard, mottled grey or brown in appearance and astringent in taste. These are gathered just before they are ripe enough to drop down by themselves. The process of gathering is quite interesting in Sylhet adjoining the southern part of the hills. In big plantations young boys and agile youths climb up one tree with the help of their hands and feet clutching at the stem with ease and speed. The bunches are torn and are either slid down a rope or are flung down. When one tree has been plucked the gatherer sets the tree in a swing by moving his

body to and fro and when the top comes close to that of the next tree, he just goes over to tat in a very skilful manner. In this way a batch of gatherers plucks the fruits by going from tree to tree without coming down once. But in War Khasi country the sloping nature of the land does not permit of this and so going up and down has to be done many times over and over.

The fruits are treated after being plucked in various ways. Every country has its own method. They may be deprived of their rinds, boiled in water, cut up into slices and dried in the sun. Milk and other ingredients are used to enrich the flavour and taste. In some places they are simply dried in the sun with the rind on. Sometimes they are soaked in water and then buried under earth in an earthen pot for a certain period in order to produce the effects of fermentation. In War Khasi country these are simply kept in jars of water and taken out wet when and as required. At the time of taking, the rind is peeled off with a knife which is invariably carried by these people.

Kwai, though used as a masticatory by itself, is generally taken along with the betel leaf, which is called *tympew* (*thambul*, *tambula*, *tamol*, etc.) It is the leaf of the betel vine, a creeper allied to that which yields black pepper. The vine is made to climb trees and its leaves are gathered and sold. Its taste is pungent. In other parts of India, these are grown under elaborate covers of reeds (dried jute stalks) to keep the plants shaded from such rays. This makes the leaves soft, more pulpy and less pungent. Different varieties of such cultivated *pan* or betel leaves are sold in the market and are well known to the people as banarasi, bangla, etc., each with its peculiar flavour and taste recognizable to the connoisseurs. The Khasi *tympew* is, however, of the untreated variety.

Chuna or *shun* as the Khasis call it, is another ingredient which goes to make *Kwai* ready for consumption. It is derived either from the shells of calcareous animals like bysters, smarts, etc., or from lime stone. In Khasi hills the lime quarries of the War country supply it. It is, however, not an essential ingredient though most people use it and carry small boxes of it, yet there are not a few who go without it. Readymade *Kwai* are found in the two forms in shops, either the *tympew* is folded in thin flat oblong shape with a quantity of lime in it, with peices of *Kwai* given separately, or the leaf is made into a cone with the *Kwai* put into the mouth at the base like a cork. The eater opens the fold or cone, takes off the excess *shun* with his finger, rubs it off at the most convenient place at hand and puts it in the mouth along with the *Kwai*, and chews. This "rubbing of lime" leaves its marks everywhere, and lamp and telegraph posts on the road sides, letter boxes, house corners, backs and bottoms of chairs, tables and benches can challenge any settlements of guanas or nocturnal

rest-trees of flocks of crows, in the richness and varieties of the markings. Effusion of dyed spittle also gives rise to a habit which Dickens would have liked to compare with that of tobacco chewing.

The *kwai* habit is not confined to the Khasis alone. It is common in varied forms all over India. Distribution and taking of *pan* is a common feature in parties and other ceremonies. In this connection betel habits of other peoples may also be noted.

Sri N. S. Reddy has described its importance in some castes in Andhra. (*The Eastern Anthropologist*, Dec.-1956 Feb., 1957). It has been estimated that one tenth of the world's population indulge in this habit and scholars think that the Austriacs started this practice and taught it to the rest. The Khasis, however, think otherwise and they believe that *Kwai* and *tympeu* along with tobacco were given to them by the gods as cheap but efficacious means of hospitality, as will be clear from the following legend.

There lived in days of yore in a village on the southern slope of the Khasi hills, two boys U Riwbha and U Baduk by names. U Riwbha belonged to the richest family of the country while U Baduk's family was one of the poorest. But the vast difference between the status of the two families did not prevent a great and deep attachment growing up between the two boys. They were fast and inseparable friends. They were always found together. Every morning they met and roamed in the hills and swam in the rivers together. Together they learnt, about plants and flowers, beasts and birds, the use of bow and arrows and to play on the flute.

As they grew up, however, they could not be together as often and for as long as before. U Riwbha had now to look after his father's estates which kept him away from the village for days together and U Baduk had to go to the fields to work for his daily bread. Yet their minds did not change, they continued as firm in their friendship as ever.

In course of time both married; U Riwbha's wife came from as wealthy a family as his own and he gained doubly by this marriage in prestige and wealth. U Baduk went to live at his wife's in a distant village, who also was as poor as he. But she was a good woman of thrifty and industrious habits and they worked hard together to meet their simple wants and were happy together.

The two friends could meet each other very rarely now. Yet the bonds of friendship were still strong and close, and whenever on rare occasions U Baduk visited his native village, nowhere was he more welcome than at his friend's. And then they would spend hours talking of old days and their present life. After a time U Baduk's wife asked her husband to invite his friend to their house, so that the hospitality might not be one sided and cause people to talk about it. U Riwbha was accordingly invited but on the day before that of

his arrival the poor couple found to their dismay that they had nothing to offer to their loved and honoured guest. U Baduk's wife went about the village trying to borrow edibles, but nobody would lend them anything as they were too poor to repay. Disappointed at this, U Baduk stabbed himself to death in order to avoid the shame of having failed in hospitality. The distracted wife also killed herself. A hungry wretch, a notorious character in that part of the country, entered their house at night in search of food, and finding it apparently empty passed the night there. Early in the morning wanting to escape unperceived he got up and was startled to see the man and his wife lying dead in pools of blood. He now feared that he would be sure to be charged with murder, with the character he had. So in desperation he took the dagger lying near by and stabbed himself dead. The neighbours later in the day grew anxious to see no one stir in that cottage, and curiously peeped in, and there was a great commotion and display of grief and repentance at not having helped the poor couple in their distress. In the meantime U Riwbha arrived, and when he knew the whole story he wept loud and long and prayed to God that hospitality be easy and cheap so that even the poorest would not feel it a burden. And God heard him and a miracle happened. From the three dead bodies, three plants sprang—the betel vine, betel palm and tabacco. And these three now are the three articles which are within easy reach of the poorest and also are worthy of the richest for purposes of hospitality to any guest, and are equally welcome and eloquent of the warmth in the welcome by the host.

THE NAME-GIVING CEREMONY OF THE HOS OF SERAIKELLA

GOURANGA CHATTOPADHYAY

AND

BIKASH CHANDRA RAY-CHAUDHURI

The name giving ceremony is known in Ho language as *Tupu nami etna*. It is also sometimes referred to as *Sakhi-Jana* or *Suku-Jana*. The authors of the present article studied seven cases of name giving during February, '54 and January '55 in the village of Dolandih, in the district of Singbhum (Bihar). The village lies to the north-north-west of Seraikella town (market place). Out of the seven cases, six have been studied by the genealogical and case-history method as far as possible, while one has been studied by direct observation. The cases are described later on in this article.

From a study of all these cases it seems that a baby may either be named after a dead relative on the father's or the mother's side, in which case the term "tupu nami etna" is used, or the baby may be named after a living relative or even a good friend, in which case the term "sakhi-jana" or "suku-jana" may be used. By the latter method the baby and its name-sake become friends, and it is expected that the elder friend would always help in need of the younger name-sake when the necessity may arise later in life.

Apart from the cases studied, the general tendency is to name a baby after persons either two generations above on father's side or mother's side, or one generation above on the male parent's side. The present day Hos of the area seem to have forgotten now completely, if they ever had any such idea, whether such mode of naming has anything to do with the belief in reincarnation of the dead ancestor's soul through a new born baby in the house. The only logical reason for such cases of repetition was offered by an old man, who said that since they were mostly illiterate people, they had little understanding of deeds of land and other properties. So, if A has got a certain amount of land, his neighbours would know it and support, in due time, the succession of his son A'. But by the time A' dies, the neighbours may forget A. So A' names his son A after his father so as to keep the old names alive. Moreover, if such sets of names are always used, a sort of lineage with common names are established. Thus when a man goes to a different village, he knows whom to go to for help, or if a family in a village becomes totally extinct, their successors from other villages would be able to establish their rights in the property by showing the same set of names. But this logic seems to be a modern interpretation as we know that in the original Mundari type of settlements the lands were distributed to the members of the same community, and in the case of excess of

land in a family due to death or some such reason, that land went back to the village community as a whole. So it seems that, after all, probably the idea of reincarnation was the original, which has been later on moulded according to circumstances, and the changes have been rationalised. The belief in re-incarnation is still prevalent among certain neighbouring tribes, which, we shall mention later on.

So far as the custom of "sakhi-jana" is concerned, it has been found that in most cases the parents have had the question of keeping the social ties more secure uppermost in their minds.

Now we shall proceed to describe in detail one of the six cases studied by the genealogical method, and then mention the differences observed in the other five cases. After that a complete description of the ceremony actually observed will be given.

Case : 1. The father of the new-born baby decided to hold the name-giving ceremony on the 28th day, and accordingly he went and invited his younger brother's family, his mother, and some other relations on his father's side, as also his wife's parents and her dead brother's wife.

On the day of the ceremony, the parents of the baby, along with the rest of the family, woke up before sun-rise and swept the rooms and the courtyard clean. Then, while the mother plastered the courtyard, with cow-dung paste, the father thoroughly cleansed and plastered the kitchen and the *ading* (the seat of the ancestral soul). Then they all bathed and waited for the guests to arrive. They had to fast till the ceremony was over. Also, the mother could not cook for the guests till the ceremony ended. Of course, before taking bath, the father shaved the baby's head with a razor-like knife (*holat*) and buried the shaved hair inside the sleeping-room.

The father had already decided to name his son after his wife's father as he wanted to strengthen the ties between the two families, as well as to please his wife. When the invited guests arrived, he formally sat with the men-folk to select a name and they readily agreed to his suggestion. Then a brass pot (*ghoti*) filled to the brim with water was brought, and facing the eastern side, he sat down on the floor of the courtyard of his hut. His wife brought him from the inside of the hut some grains of sun-dried rice (*arua*) and a few grains of unhusked pulse of a particular kind (*biridahl*). Then, surrounded by the watching relatives, he took a grain of pulse and dropped it in water in the name of his wife's father. The pulse-grain kept floating. Now he took a rice-grain and saying that it represented the baby, dropped it in the water of the *ghoti*, and called on the god "Singbonga" to witness the ceremony*. The two grains floated

* The contents of such "incantations", if incantations these can be termed, vary from case to case, though the idea is more or less the same in all cases. Two such incantations have been noted later on in this article.

for sometime and then drifted towards each other and met ultimately. At once the little baby's name was settled. Now the boy's mother's father, after whom he was named, presented him with a shirt, which he had brought with him for the occasion. He also took a little bit of mustard oil from his daughter and rubbed it on the baby's head, after which everyone present put a little bit of oil on his or her own head. The father now threw the contents of the *ghoti* on the thatched roof of his hut. The parents of the baby had kept their fast till now.

The ceremony over, the father went in and brought out three old earthen cooking pots and threw these away beyond his boundary walls. These were replaced now by new earthen pots purchased previously for the occasion from the last weekly market (*hat*) held at Seraikella town. He then served *diang* (home-brewed rice-beer) to the guests. This *diang* was prepared three days ago for the occasion. In the meanwhile his wife had started cooking rice, vegetables and meat. The guests either chatted there or wandered about the village to utilise their spare time in making friendly calls on other villagers. When the food was ready, first the male guests ate and then the women. The parents of the baby broke their fast only after the guests had eaten. The father's parents-in-law stayed till evening and left after supper. The total cost of the ceremony was, roughly, about Rs. 15/-.

Case: 2. In this case also the name was given to the boy on the 28th day. The invitees were their relatives, either by kinship or through marriage. In this case the baby's father's younger brother shaved the baby's head. Then he took a pot of mustard oil and put a little of the oil on the baby's head. The rest was distributed among those present. This oil is known as "saki-sunum" (*sunum* =oil). Then the ceremony was held and the name of the child was fixed after the name of the baby's father's youngest brother, who had died some time ago. The name having been fixed, water was as usual thrown on the roof-top and the officiant presented the baby with a shirt and a cap. Next, old earthen pots were thrown away and the guests were fed.

The date of the ceremony had been fixed in this case by the baby's father's elder brother as the father was away working at Jamshedpur, and the name was selected by the baby's parents. The expenses came to about Rs. 10/-.

Case: 3. This is a case of a girl child. The date of the name-giving was fixed by the baby's father's mother, who was an old woman, while the name was selected by the baby's parents. The ceremony was held on the 35th day of the birth and the baby was named after her mother's mother. All the brothers of the father and his parents-in-law came in the morning and the officiant in the ceremony was the mother's father of the baby. She was named after her mother's

mother, who presented the baby with a small shirt after the function was over. They had to spend about six rupees on the function.

Case : 4. In this case the name of the girl child was given on the 21st day. The exact date of name-giving was fixed by the father's father of the infant. The baby's father invited his wife's mother, his two brothers and his elder brother's wife. He also invited all the heads of families of Dolandih, save the two families of Lohar and Ahir, who belong to the Hindu-subcastes.

When the invitees had gathered, the father performed the ceremony with the baby on his lap. When the dropping of rice grain and pulse grain was done for the first time, the name of the baby's mother was taken. This name had been originally decided. Unfortunately the rice grain sank at once and hence the name had to be rejected. Then after a hasty counsel among themselves, mainly among the baby's father and father's father, the baby's mother's mother's name was selected and again the process of dropping the grains was repeated. This time the two grains floated and met, and the baby was named. Then the lady after whom the baby was named borrowed some *Mohua* oil (*Bassia Latifolia*) from the baby's mother and anointed the baby's head with it and shaved the baby's head with a modern razor (*Khur*), which belonged to the house. (It would be noted that in cases 1 and 2, the shaving was done before massaging. Upon enquiry it was found that apparently there is no very hard and fast rule about this in the name-giving ceremony. More such discrepancies were found later on). The shaved hair were later buried on the banks of *Kasaridih-bundh*, which is the name of a tank. The baby was anointed with mustard oil and bathed in water by her name-sake, after which she was presented with a *patloon* (long pyjama, English 'pentaloon') and a shirt. Then all the guests were treated to *diang* followed by changing of earthen vessels and a meal consisting of fish, meat, rice and *diang* in the afternoon. The estimated cost was about Rs. 30/-.

Case : 5. In this case also the name of the boy was given on the 21st day and a few relations from the father's side and wife's side of the male parent of the baby were invited. A few villagers, who were considered to be good friends were also invited. The officiant was the father of the boy.

The ceremony had to be repeated four times before the two grains met. The names that were taken are given in the order in which these were tried : *Turi* (Father's elder brother), *Gengo* (sister's husband), *Landu* (Sister's husband) and *Gumda* (wife's brother). This last name was given to the baby as the grains met in this case alone. When this was over, *Gumda* (senior) took some mustard oil and dropped a large quantity on his own head and then bending forward, allowed some of it to trickle down to the head of the boy. Then

he shaved his head and the hair were buried in a pit in the bedroom. Next, the baby was massaged with oil and bathed there by *Gumda* and was presented with a shirt by him. Then all of them bathed at a nearby tank (*Rani bundh*), and on return *Gumda* at first dipped a finger in the *diang-pot* and allowed the baby to suck it. Then all of them drank *diang* and had a hearty meal. About fifteen rupees were spent on this ceremony.

Case : 6. In this case also the name of the boy was given on the 21st day and the name was selected beforehand by the father. One of his bosom friend was one Dasru who lived at a nearby village called "Kasaridih". He approached this Dasru who readily agreed to bestow his name on his friend's son.

The father being a poor man had invited his elder brother, his elder brother's wife, and this Dasru. The name was fixed at the first dropping of grains in water by the father. Then as usual Dasru put mustard oil on the baby's head. Having thus anointed and massaged its body and after bathing it, Dasru gave it a new shirt. Shaving the head of the baby was done as in Case 4. *Diang* was drunk in large quantities and at about midday they had a good meal.

Case : 7. This is the case of the naming of the boy of the village priest (*deuri*). The boy was named on the 9th day after birth. The father informed the authors that he would have, under ordinary circumstances, named him on the 21st day, which, in fact, he had done during the naming of his three elder children. But arrangements were already on way to hold the *maghe* festival soon (the date had been previously fixed and it happened to fall on the 11th day after the birth), and so he had to name his son beforehand to cleanse himself from the pollution which surrounds a family where a birth has taken place. After a birth has taken place in a house, no outsider would accept food and drink from any inmate of the house till the pollution attached to child-birth is ceremonially removed. In the case of a priest, he cannot officiate or attend any festival during this period of pollution.

About a week after the birth, the mother is allowed to come out of the confinement room, and after taking a bath she is permitted to enter the family kitchen and cook for the family. On this day a few village women come and accept rice-beer from her hand, but not any food. This removes the taboo on accepting drinks by the villagers from that house and the taboo on accepting food by her family members from her hands. This ceremony is called "Narta". The outsiders accept food from her only after the naming of the baby is over.

In this particular case, the father's brother of the baby acted as the officiant, and the baby was named after its father's father. The ceremony was performed in the way detailed above. After it was

over, the guests drank rice-beer and departed. Only the officiant remained for lunch. The priest explained that as the festival was nearing he had to spend a lot on preparing rice-beer in large quantities. So he was not in a position to spend more than three rupees on this occasion. Hence he had asked the chief guest alone to take his meal there.

A few general remarks on the ceremony may now be made.

The village Dolandih is inhabited by 32 families, of whom 30 are Ho, and the other two are Hindu. So, seven cases are fairly good representatives so far as this village is concerned, as the percentage comes to a little over twenty three.

From a study of these cases it is seen that the choice of name lies mostly with the parents, though a grand-father or elder brother may take a hand in it. The reasons for the choice of name has already been dealt with in the introductory section. Sometimes it is seen that boys and girls have names like Sukura or Sukurbari, Soma or Sombari, etc. We were told that when it happens that after failing for several times to select a name by the dropping-the-rice method the parents feel at a loss for names, the process is abandoned and the child's name is kept after the name of the day of week (*midhat*) on which he or she was born. Thus a boy born on Monday (*Sombar*) is called Soma and a girl born on the same day is named Sombari. Similarly, Guruba and Gurubari for a boy or a girl, respectively, who are born on a Thursday (*Gurubar*), and so on. Again, when a boy or a girl is born on a *parab* (religious festival) day, the name of that festival becomes a stand-by name for that person. But such a name is seldom used. Only one such case was noted in Dolandih. Goma (Aumong) was named Remchang after his grandfather's name and the name was duly selected by dropping pulse and rice. But when Goma went for the first time to work as a labourer at Tatanagar, the other labourers made fun of the name as it sounds silly. Henceforth, Remchang never calls himself by that name. As he was born on "Goma parab" day, he calls himself Goma.

The date of the ceremony is known to vary from the 21st to the 35th day. The reason for this variation was enquired and according to the majority of informants, it depends mainly on the time for the haemorrhage after birth to stop, or at least to become very little. They think that when the blood, (*mayom*) etc., stop, i.e. the haemorrhage ceases, the inner organs become dried up.* Some of the informants said that the projection of the umbilical cord (*buti*) on the body of the child dries up after the third week, and the naming is done when this dries up.

* There is a belief in Bengal too that the inner organs of a woman after childbirth must dry up. This organ is known as *Narhi*, and ghee and pepper are administered and dry hot fomentation applied to quicken the process of drying up.

As noted before, the date of naming varies considerably i.e. from three weeks to five weeks' time. Three or four days before the ceremony some of the relatives by kinship as well as by marriage are invited. A few friends may also be invited. This depends on the pecuniary condition of the family. The presence of the village officials is not essential. The name is generally selected by the parents and the assembled relatives agree to it formally. Generally, if the name is given after a living relative, that man or woman makes a presentation to the baby.

On the day of the ceremony the officiating person (generally the father) shaves the baby's head early in the morning and the hair is buried under earth. Then facing east in front of the relatives, he drops a pulse grain in water. This grain keeps floating and is supposed to represent the person after whom the baby is named. Then a rice grain representing the baby is also dropped in the water. If the two grains meet while they are afloat, the name is accepted. If not, the performance is repeated with another name. "Singbonga" or "Dharam" is requested to witness the name-giving ceremony by the officiant. After that a small feast is given, with which the ceremony ends. The food is cooked on this occasion by the mother and its acceptance by the guests show that she is once more pure and can touch everything.

Some of the incantations used during dropping

Just before the dropping of the two grains the officiant chants out an incantation, if it can be called incantation at all, since there is no fixed incantation and the wordings are modifiable at the discretion of the officiant. A few examples given below (free translation) will show it:

(a) Paddy is Muchiram, now you go "biri"—(baby), do you want to be his "Saki" (friend) and have his name? So then go and meet him. O Singbonga, be the witness.

(b) O Singbonga, if the baby's name be Maki, let this paddy grain and pulse be united.

Other Methods :

The accounts given by Col. E. T. Dalton¹ and Dr. D. N. Majumdar² of the name-giving ceremony among the Hos differ in some ways from the accounts given in the present article.

Dalton writes that after the birth of a child, both the father and the mother are considered *bisi* or unclean, and as such the other members of the family are banished from the house for eight days and after the period is over the members return, friends are invited to a feast and "the child is ceremonially named. The name of the grandfather is usually given to the first born son, but not without an ordeal to ascertain if it will prove fortunate. As the name is

mentioned, a grain of *Urid* (pulse) is thrown into a vessel with water, the name is adopted if it floats, rejected if it sinks”.

Majumdar writes, “Name-giving does not take place at the expiration of eight days, nor is it postponed until the child begins to stand or waddle about*...Col. Dalton confused the Ho practice with that of the Mundas”.

The Hos, according to Majumdar, perform the name-giving ceremony on the 21st or the 30th day, the selection of the actual date depending on the *deuri* (Priest). The fixing of the date depends on certain definite considerations—“a person has to stand as the namesake or *sakhi* of a newborn child. The *sakhi* ceremony is still performed after the name-giving ceremony in many cases. The child is usually given the name of a dead relative, but the *sakhi* is always a living relation.”

About the ceremony itself Majumdar writes that the *ading* is cleaned, and the parents along with the male and female relatives sit around an earthen pot full of water while the *deuri* invokes the ancestors of the clan to witness the ceremony. The oldest male member prays to the ancestors of the family. “Next they drop grains of husked rice into the water and one of the relatives suggests a name which may or may not be of that of an ancestor”. One case pointed out by Majumdar shows that the grains must be even in number when thrown in a handful. “As each grain of husked rice is dropped into the water, a name is suggested, after which a second grain is thrown; if the second grain touches the first and they both sink to the bottom, the name is selected, if not, the process is repeated, care being taken to remove the second grain everytime the attempt proves unsuccessful”. After that some of the relatives take “*sota*” or sticks magically seasoned during an eclipse and begin striking it against the “*ading*” in order to scare away any evil influence from the child.

Majumdar also mentions two other methods. In one, a number of grains are taken in the palm and a name is suggested by a relative. The grains are then counted. If the number is even, the name is accepted; if not, the process is repeated. In the third method, the eldest male member of the family takes in his palm four grains of “*urid*” and rubs them till they soften. Then the father of the child suggests a name when a grain is dropped in a pan of water placed before the father. If the grain keeps afloat, the name is selected. If not, the process is repeated till all the four grains are exhausted. If all the grains sink, the ceremony is postponed till the next month

* Here he refers to the account of Col. Tickell—“when the child begins to stand or waddle about, the parents think of naming the child”.

and sacrifices have to be made to the ancestral spirits to save the child from any harm.

It is apparent from Majumdar's description of the first method that the name-giving ceremonies of the Hos of Seraikella area and Kolhan area are essentially the same in outline, although they differ in details. The presence of the *deuri* and the part played by him in Kolhan area is one of the notable differences between the two. The other two methods described by Majumdar were not come across by the present two authors.

Comparison with the methods followed by some neighbouring tribes and by the Veddas :

(a) Rai Rahadur S. C. Roy in his description of the Munda³ *sakhi* or name-giving ceremony writes that, on the 9th day the *bhayads* or the near relatives of the baby are invited and the ceremony is held. A brass plate is filled with water and the mother at first drops a grain of rice representing the child, and then another in the name of an ancestor. If both unite, the name is selected. If that ancestor be a living one, he or she blesses the child for long life. "On the same day a girdle of thread is tied round the waist of the baby. This is called the *sutam-tol* ceremony."

(b) Among Birhors⁴ the ceremony is known as *saki* and is generally held on the 22nd day (the day after "Chhota Thhathhi," which varies with different clans). A bowl filled with mud diluted with water is kept in an open space where the *tanda* members assemble, and a handful of rice and a blade of grass is placed on the ground near it as *saki* or witness of the ceremony. Then a 'til' (sesamum) seed to represent the baby is dropped into the bowl and then an unhusked rice representing generally the paternal grand-father (be he dead or alive) is dropped. The process is repeated till they unite and do not sink down. Roy does not state who drops these grains.

The person whose name is thus selected (*saki*) then massages the baby with oil and presents a few copper coins and a necklace of black beads. If the *saki* is not a member of the family, he is treated with a sumptuous feast.

The "mati" utters some incantation over a few grains of mustard seeds which are tied in a rag and then fastened to the baby's neck with a white thread. If the name thus selected is taboo for some reason the baby is named according to the day of his birth. A man is said to take always the path of his "Saki", even in respect of his number of marriages.

(c) Among the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa,⁵ the ceremony is known as "Nam tora", and is held between the 8th and the 20th day after birth.

On the day of name-giving no meat is eaten. In Bonai some female relatives prepare a kind of pudding fried in oil, offer it to the

ancestral spirits and then a bit is offered to the child, after which it is partaken by the rest. In Keonjhar "arua" rice is boiled in water by a male agnate and is offered with the gruel to the ancestral spirit of the family. The floor of the hut is plastered with cow-dung and a circular pattern is drawn in turmeric. Inside the diagram a jug filled with water mixed with turmeric is placed. In Bonai an elderly female relative sits in front of the jug (outside the diagram) and drops a grain of sesamum seed together with a grain of rice in the water and utters the name of a certain relative. (But in Keonjhar this part is done by the man who cooks the rice). In the case of a male child, at first the name of the paternal ancestor (grandfather) is uttered. If any of the grains sinks, the women conclude that the named ancestor has not come. But if both float, the "til" (sesamum) is taken out and is placed on the child's head.

In the case of either of the sexes, it is only after the names of all the dead agnates are exhausted that the names of a maternal relation may be adopted.

All the names must be of the deceased relatives, as the child is supposed to be the reincarnation of some dead relative.

After name-giving, food may be taken in that house. But no food can be accepted which has been cooked by the mother until four months expire in case of a male child and five months in case of a female child.

In Keonjhar, the man who officiates at the ceremony ties a white thread round the baby's neck.

(d) Among the Kharias⁶ the name is ceremonially given on the 7th day (*Narta*) or the 21st day (*ekusa*) or even later. The variation is regional.

On the day of name-giving, relatives are invited and the baby's father's mother or some other male or female senior relative sits in the courtyard facing east with the baby in her or his arm. A leaf cup or a brass plate filled with water is kept in front of them. Sometimes turmeric paste is mixed in the water. Then a grain of sesamum (representing the child) is dropped in the water in front and then a grain of unhusked rice, in the name of some dead relative not below the father's generation, is also dropped in the water. If the two grains meet, the name is accepted. If they do not meet, the process is repeated. In some places both the grains are of rice.

Here also the belief in reincarnation prevails.

A second name for everyday use is selected by the father's mother of the baby, or in her absence, by some other elderly female relative. This, according to Roy and Roy, is a practice similar to that of the Ibo of W. Africa, where the practice of "soul name" is found.

After the ceremony the mid-wife is presented with a piece of cloth and a few annas. But in most cases she is a near relative, and so

the presents are refused. A feast is given to those who come to attend the ceremony.

(e) Among the Malers of the Rajmahal Hills⁷ the name-giving ceremony takes place "a few hours after the delivery". (This is very different from what we have seen so far). Many relatives are invited. Generally the child is named after a grand-parent, at least in the case of a majority of the eldest children, and the actual selection is done by the mother's brother.

(f) The name-giving ceremony among the Oraons⁸ is known as "Nāmē-pinjñā". This is performed between a fortnight and a year after the birth of a child. Sometimes the baby is called by the name of the day of the week or the festival day on which he was born.

On the name-giving day an unmarried person or the *gorait* shaves the baby's head leaving a tuft of hair intact. The shaved hair is thrown into a running stream, where it is supposed to join in due time the shaved hair of its future spouse. Next, the *gorait* fills a large leaf-cup with water and places it on the ground. Some elderly men assemble and one of them takes a handful of rice and drops one after another three grains. While he does so, another person names a particular deceased ancestor (either on the father's or on the mother's side). When the grains touch each other at their pointed ends, the name uttered last is adopted. If either of the grains sinks, three grains are again dropped.

Probably, writes S. C. Roy, this "practice was originally meant either as a means of divination to discover which of the deceased ancestors was reborn in the person of the infant, or as a means of securing for the child the protection of the spirit of the deceased ancestor, whose name was thus appropriated". The Oraons do not believe in that at present.

Sometimes the name by which the baby was referred to before selecting the name by this supernatural method, is continued. But the supernaturally selected name is considered to be his real name. Roy considers that this real name was not previously given out to outsiders for fear of being used "as a handle for sorcery and witchcraft to harm the person."

After selecting the name the *gorait*'s wife anoints the child with oil and turmeric paste and bathes the child in cold water. The *gorait* gets three bowls of leaves filled with paddy.

(g) About the Juangs⁹, Elwin writes: "On the seventh day after birth the mother gets up in the dark and herself fills in the pit over which she has been bathing. She throws away the pot and cleans the house. She washes her clothes with plantain ash. She herself cuts the child's hair. On the same day the "mamu"* or a

* A word applied both to the mother's brother, elder or younger, and to the father-in-law.

bandhu relative does the father's hair and is rewarded with a gift of six naya paisa.

"The child must now be named. Sometimes this is done by old women dropping rice in a pot and taking names until one of the grains floats. Sometimes the father has a dream in which an ancestor appears to say who has been reborn in the child. When they name the child, it will cry if it is not correct and the "Rau-uria" then has to be consulted. At the time of giving the name, a thread is tied round the child's waist".

(h) Among the Bondos¹⁰, the name is given at times on the day of birth, or may be after five days, or even when the umbilical stump falls off. Economic conditions play an important part in the selection of the date. A maternal relative (usually the mother's brother or sister and her brother's son or daughter) generally puts an uncooked leg of a sacrificed fowl in the baby's hand and slowly utters one by one the names of a number of dead ancestors. If the baby clinches its hand around the drum stick, it means that the person named has reincarnated and his or her name is adopted. But if such a procedure fails, the child is given a name after the day of the week on which it was born.

(i) The Veddass name their children within a month of their birth and this is decided upon by the parents. At some places this name is freely used, but at others, after the child is four or five years old, this name is replaced by Tuta (Male) or Tuti (Female) when mentioning them or calling them. This may be for the avoidance of evil spirits.

At Omuni, the Seligmanns¹¹ further mention, it was said that in old days there was no fixed time for the naming of a child. The parents then usually selected the name of a dead ancestor, for, there is no harm in using the name of a deceased person.

(j) Among the Santals, Chattopadhyay points out that in Mayurbhanj, formerly the removal of pollution ("Chhut Pherao") occurred on the day of birth, and if possible the name-giving used to be performed on the same day. But name-giving is often done either on the 7th or the 9th day. Otherwise his report tallies with that of Culshaw¹³. The eldest son is usually named after his father's father and the eldest daughter after father's mother. Chattopadhyay further writes that generally a second name is used for calling a person so that his real name is not known by everyone. In the case of a "ghardijawae" (a man who stays at his father-in-law's place), he confirms that the children are named after the man's wife's parents who otherwise yield precedence to his parents in naming children. He adds that nowadays sometimes in naming children, names like "Kali" "Debi", etc., are also found. When a man gets a child after worshipping any such deity he names the child after that deity. This may

be put down to Hindu influence. Again, if a woman gets a child through the magic or medicine of a Santal Kabiraj or magical curer or medicine man, the child is named after that man. This also seems to have come into practice under Hindu influence.

Culshaw in his paper gives a translation of the portion of Kolean's "Hapramko Reak Katha" dealing with birth customs. Here it is stated that the naming is done on the fifth day in the case of a boy and on the third day in the case of a girl. The ceremony consists of removal of pollution, and name-giving. A ceremonial shaving is done, and the poor folks are invited along with the Naeke, Kudam Naeke, the Manjhis, Paranik, Jog Manjhi, Jog Paranik and Godet. These are all village officials. The midwife and the barber have their respective parts to play in the ceremony. When the ceremony is over, "the old man and woman of the house (i.e., the parents of the child) will ask each other, 'after whom shall we name him?' If it is a boy, they will say, 'We'll give him father's name', and if a girl, 'We'll give him mother's name'. The first-born boy gets the name of his father's father, and the first girl gets the name of her father's mother. The second boy gets the name of his mother's father and the second girl that of her mother's mother. When those are used up, they get the names of their paternal uncles and aunts, and their maternal uncles and aunts.

"Then the midwife will come out to the courtyard and announcing the name will make obeisance and say to them 'From to-day (if it be a boy) call him by this name at hunting', (if a girl) 'call her by this name when you say to her "come along", as you go to draw water'.

Culshaw further writes that sometimes the parents decide the name of a child before it is born and keep it a secret. Sometimes when a child cries too much they bring an "ojha" or medicine man who divines by leaves and oil and says that a particular relation is claiming that the child be named after him.

CONCLUSION

From a study of the methods of name-giving among different tribes described so far we find that these allied tribes have many similar customs and practices, for example, the shaving of head of the child, tying of a thread around the waist of the child and the removal of pollution, etc. Also, among all these tribes, barring the Santals, the name is chosen by non-secular methods, and dropping of grains in water is one of the commonest procedures of all.

In some cases we found that the real name is not freely used, and that a substitute name is given. Most probably this is done to avoid its abuse by the sorcerers or the evil spirits, who may do some harm if they come to know of the real name.

The names given are in most cases found to be the names of dead ancestors. There may be two reasons for that. The first is that there may be an idea that the spirit of the dead ancestor after whom the child is named, would always guard the child throughout his life, and as the spirit world is believed to influence a large portion of the activities of these tribes and their thoughts, such a protection may well have a great value to them.

There also may be a second belief connected with this, namely, the belief in reincarnation of souls of dead ancestors. As we have seen earlier, among the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, the Kharias, the Juangs and the Bondos, this belief in reincarnation still exists and is also behind the mode of name-giving.

Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy has opined in his monograph on the Oraons that probably they also had this belief in reincarnation sometime earlier in their history.

Among the Gonds¹⁴ also there runs a belief that the ancestral spirits are reincarnated in children and animals. Sometimes a Gond would make a mark with soot or vermilion on the body of a deceased person, and if a similar mark is subsequently found on any newly born infant of the family, it is held that the dead man's spirit has been reborn in it. A similar belief is found among Korkus¹⁵, the Marias¹⁶ and the Murias¹⁷. Among Gonds sometimes an ancestor who has been mingled with Bura Deo appears in a dream and intimates his arrival on earth in a certain child. Then, if a child will not drink its mother's milk, it is thought that an important ancestor has come back, and finding himself in such a dependent position upon a woman over whom once he had great authority, he is very disturbed. In such cases, a medicine-man or "Gunia" is brought to divine the name of the ancestor.

Among the Gonds, the soul of a dead person is called back after the funeral, and it is believed that since it stays in the hut, the nearness helps in its quick rebirth. We find that the Hos also have the rule of calling back the soul of a dead person and installing it at its home. Here again we may conjecture that at one time the Hos also had the idea that such nearness might lead to quick rebirth.

Taking all this into consideration, we think that previously the Hos also had the belief in reincarnation of soul of dead ancestors through the new born babies of the same family. Later on, this belief has been forgotten giving rise to modern interpretations and accompanying customs.

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RESEARCH NEWS AND VIEWS

P. G. Brewster has written an interesting paper on 'Malonijatik and Related Three-in-a-Row Games' in the *Acta Ethnographica*, tomes VI, Fasciculi 1-2, 1957. Such a game has been a popular pastime since the days of the earliest archaeological monuments unearthed. Brewster's article gives details of probable antiquity of the game, its geographical distribution in the different parts of the globe and its various forms.

In the article 'The effect of Sex, birth-rank, and birth-weight on growth in the first year of life which appeared in *Human Biology*—A record of research, Volume 29, No. 2, May, 1957, Eva J. Salber presents an analysis of the effect of Sex, birth rank, and birth-weight on growth in the first postnatal year of babies of European, coloured, Bantu and Indian racial groups.

The investigator has found that the boys' weights are higher than those of girls throughout the first year of life. European boys grow consistently faster than girls in the first year, whereas non-European boys grow faster than girls in the first 6-8 months of life, but thereafter girls grow faster than boys. Again the first-born babies of both sexes are lighter than later-born babies at birth, but overtake them during the first year.

In Europeans, coloured people and Indians the difference in rate of growth between the ranks is greater for girls, than the boys, but in the Bantus it is greater for boys. Heavy babies at birth remain heavier throughout the year than babies who are lighter at birth. This is because of their superior birth weight. As a matter of fact birth weight has no effect on gain in weight during the year, hence the rate of growth is relatively greater for babies who are lighter at birth. Babies double their birth weight by the time they are of six months, particularly in case of lighter and non-European babies.

Prof. Dr. Bela Gunda in an article 'Ethnological Researches among the Moravian Valachs', published in *MAN* Vol. LVII, September, 1957, has presented information about some of the interesting 'archaic' implements still preserved in the culture of Moravian Valachs. The author has been able to trace a form of Fire Drill which was in the

possession of an old peasant in the valley of Upper Beeva near Velke Karlovice. Though the fire drill has no name of its own in the Moravian Valach's language, yet the fire made by it is called *dreveny ohen* fire made of wood.

One is reminded of prehistoric times to know that Primitive Milling Stones are still used by Moravian Valachs. These milling stones are used for milling cereals, as well as for grinding salls.

The Primitive Wooden Plough used by the Moravian Valachs is remarkable, which is generally made of beech and is called *hak* in their language. As a matter of fact such primitive ploughs are no longer in use, but their more developed variations are still in existence. The author maintains that these ploughs are an ancient form of rale which is the ancient crook plough of the Slavs, even today used by the latter known as *drencl*.

The author also opines that the survival of the *drencl* and the primitive *hak* may be explained in terms of geographical, economic and social circumstances.

In the JRAI, Vol. 86, part 1 (January-June, 1956) is published the Curl Bequest Prize Essay for the year 1955, 'The Kinship system of the Tallensi: a Revaluation' by Dr. Peter M. Worsley. In this long paper, Worsley has presented a reanalysis of the data contained in Prof. M. Fortes' two books., viz., *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* and *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*.

Worsley's view is that Prof. Fortes, in these Tallensi studies, has placed too much emphasis upon kinship 'as the primary mechanism through which the basic moral axioms of a society of the type represented by the Tallensi are translated into the give and take of social life' (Fortes, 1949, p. 346), and has underestimated the critical significance of economic relations in Tale social life. The reanalysis is based on data contained in these two books and a number of papers published by Prof. Fortes, and to a lesser extent, data from a few other field-researches.

The reanalysis is revealing. Worsley concludes: "All social relations in Taleland are moulded by the pattern of kinship and expressed in kinship terms, since in Taleland as in all simple societies, most significant social relations are between kinsfolk to their affines . . . Kinship is the form which the essential relations arising from the needs of agriculture, the inheritance of property, etc., take, and as these latter relations change, so kinship changes. Far from being basic, it is secondary".

In September, 1957, the Indian Sociological Society published a Memoir to commemorate the centenary of Auguste Comte's death.

This 88 page Memoir by Prof. G. S. Ghurye of Bombay University consists of a homage-article to Comte—the Father of Sociology, *Vidyas*—Indian Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge, and a paper titled 'Aristotle and Bacon—Pre-Comtian Occidental contribution to Sociology of Knowledge.'

In recent years there has been a marked increase in social research conducted by teams of scientists coming from two or more different fields. It has both advantages and disadvantages, though.

To test the potentialities and the difficulties of this growing trend in social research, experiments were conducted (by the National Institute for Mental Health) in the United States. The results of the symposia and discussions are presented in a paper by the Institute's Project Coordinator, Margaret Barron Luszki, published in the *Human Organisation* of Spring, 1957 (Vol. 16, No. 1). The paper deals with the consequences of team research in respect of the finances needed, freedom of the individual research worker in the team and the general problems of administration, discipline, and team-direction.

The conclusion arrived at is that 'many of the complex problems being studied today demand a team approach. When used appropriately, the values of team research far outweigh its disadvantages'.

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Charles O. Houston has given an elaborate summary of the progress in Philippine archeology during the years 1953-56 in the April, 1956 issue of the *University of Manila Journal of the East Asiatic Studies*.

Among the significant investigations made after the Manila congress of 1953 was one by Von Koenigswald and L. W. Wilson in the Cabarruyan island specifically with reference to elephant teeth. The account of this trip has been given by H. Otley Beyer in 'New finds of fossil mammals from the Pleistocene strata of the Philippines' Advance reprint from the National Research Council of the Philippines, 1956.

Nothing significant was done during the years 1954 and '55. The year 1956, however, saw many new developments. Mr. Alfredo Evangelista and Dr. R. B. Fox excavated three caves in the Sorogon Province. Two of these were burial caves and the third a habitation one. Several jars were recovered, many of them containing disintegrated human bones besides sea and land shells, beads of shell erindurated shale and some polished stone axes. The tools in the cave no. 1 and 2 belong to the late neolithic type. Burials appear to be secondary and the pottery generally without decoration. Dr. Fox believes the

age of the specimens to be early Christian era. About one and a half dozen other caves have been located on which work is expected to begin.

Professor Wilson also carried on work at Cagavan site. His work is as much important paleontologically as it is archaeologically.

The Cabarruyan site was resurveyed by C. O. Monston and Dr. Fox in 1956 because of the great importance attached to it and they concluded that a pleistocene date for the tektite findings at Cabarruyan was improved until the specimens of them are found in positive association with pleistocene fossils. Tektiles have also been discovered in the Anda region. There are some promising sites in Upper Neuva Eaja Province and cagarary island.

The work done during these years is impressive and admirable and as the author notes much more can be achieved if the potential resources for research are adequately tapped.

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The Colonial Review for December, 1957 has published abridged extracts from a study on 'The Role of Women, their Activities and Organisations in Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Jordon and Syria', directed by Ruth F. Woodsmall with the assistance of Charlotte Johnson. The headquarters of the study were at Beirut in Lebanon. The period devoted to it was about ten months, of which seven and a half month was spent in the field and the rest at Beirut for regional consultation and writing of the report. The study was conducted in close association of the countries concerned.

The enquiries were made chiefly with regard to the present status of women, educational facilities available to them, the opportunities available to them for employment in business, industry, education, and hospitals, radio and journalism, Government offices. Conditions in factories regarding female labour, such as hours of work, wages, payment for overtime work, disparity in the treatment for men and women and labour hours in general were enquired into. Some very interesting and useful information has been collected in this study on the emancipation of women in the Middle East brought about by the course of the second World War.

In an article entitled 'Further Histological Studies on Negrito Hair'. The Onges of the Andaman' in 'Man in India', Sri Amulya Ratan Banerjee has tried to reveal some facts regarding the internal anatomy of the Onges hair. He has found that the Negrito hairs are characterised by the highest percentage of 'absent' type of medulla in both the sexes. The frequencies of scanty and broken types of medulla are almost equal in both the sexes. Variations in respect of the medulla in the three samples have been observed which differ completely from

the medullary structures of other Onges. It is maintained that the difference which appears equally manifested in both the sexes is due to hybridization, and the short length of the Onges' hair is probably indicative of some growth retarding factor in the Negritos.

Finally the author adds one more factor, namely, the very short length of the hair strands undoubtedly helps the process of spiralisation.

The Government of India have published a report on the Bench-Mark Survey on the Morsi Block Bombay conducted by the Planning Commission Programme Evaluation Organisation.

The objective importance of this evaluation research was two fold (i) assessment of the extent of adoption of improved practices advocated by the community development plans and national extension service programmes, and (ii) obtaining insight into the impact of these programmes upon the economic and social life of the rural people. Repeated surveys were conducted through the Bench Mark Survey with specified intervals to get detailed and precise information in between February and June, 1954.

Among the most important items on which information has been collected through a number of schedules are :

1. the occupational and employment pattern
2. literacy and standard of schooling
3. the incidence of important types of illness
4. the pattern of land-holdings
5. the pattern of cropping
6. the extent to which improved practices with regard to crop production (e.g. use of improved seed, manures, improved implements etc.), animal husbandry and land improvement are adopted.
7. the extent of contribution by the people (in the form of cash, labour, land, etc.) in community development works.
8. people's association with developmental bodies like the panchayats, cooperative societies and with other community activities.
9. the standard of housing
10. the pattern of consumption of such protective foods as milk, ghee, vegetables, meat, fish and eggs.
11. Other schedules related to similar aspects of life as on agriculture, employment, irrigation, community activity such as construction of road, school and a demographic survey of the whole village as such.

REVIEWS

MAN: HIS FIRST MILLION YEARS, BY PROF. ASHLEY-MONTAGUE. The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York (249 pp., 1957).

The author does not make any claim for the book as a technical treatise dealing with General Anthropology. He writes, 'for people who want to learn, no matter what their chronological age may be, people who find their interest in life steadily increasing and who expect to find it continuously so' (p. 13). By 'interest' the author means 'intense and enduring interest of a life time'. Such books as the one before us, are necessary in view of the growing concern of man in knowing man and in understanding man, the most complex problem of our 'sputnik age'. There are several books of this type which have created interest in anthropology. I may mention in this connection, Malinowski's *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, Raymond Firth's *Human Types*, Kluckhohn's *Mirror for Man*, Quennel's *Every day Life in Prehistoric Times*, Gordon Childe's *Man Makes Himself*, to name only a few that have aroused the curiosity of the public and made them aware of the background of human progress and achievements.

It is not expected that the discriminative anthropologist will find his horizon of knowledge extended by reading this book, but it is certain that he can lean back in his chair and see the development in the science to which he and others of his fraternity have contributed piecemeal, and which the author has fitted in to make a complete picture of man as he really is. It is easier perhaps to write a book on 'anthropology' for the 'anthropologists,' but it needs greater competence to write a book which will appeal to all and sundry and must not ignore scientific methods and facts. Prof. Ashley Montague nearly does it and we are sure the book will have the appeal that it deserves.

In seventeen brief chapters including the preface, the author encompasses the whole range of anthropological knowledge and research and puts the facts in a simple tell-a-tale style, which gives the reader, a connected story of man. Particularly interesting is his account of man's living relations, the ancestry of man and the rise of modern man. Prof. Ashley Montague has certain advantages which most of the authors dealing with social or cultural anthropology do not normally have, viz., that he is also a general anthropologist, a breed which is becoming rare, having mutated in the last quarter of the last century and which has not been able to stabilise itself and is on the way to exit.

In a book of this kind which is meant to educate the layman, there must be general statements, much must remain untold and half-told, and criticisms on that account may not be relevant. Indian readers will wonder that the whole of Indian anthropology was dismissed by a reference to the Todas by W. H. R. Rivers, while the entire folk-literature was covered by Cushing's *Zuni Folk Tales* (1901) and Verrier Elwin's *Folk Songs of Chhattisgarh* (1946). Particularly interesting is the 'pat' on Elwin's back saying that excellence of the original of native folk songs can rarely be appreciated but 'the best-work of its kind which preserves something of the spirit of the original as nearly as possible' is Frank Hamilton Cushing's *Zuni Folk Tales* and Elwin's *Folk Songs of Chhattisgarh* which have preserved something of the original 'as nearly as possible'. We do not know about Cushing's material but Verrier Elwin's *Folk Songs* were collected by paid investigators, translated by those who knew the language, of which Shamrao Hivale was certainly one, while Elwin gave finishing touches with his masterly pen. How far the original has been correctly reported, how far the translator has kept the spirit while rendering them and how far the folk songs are of tribal origin, will continue to worry workers on oral literature.

The author is committed to 'no-race' concept and as such he has avoided all scientific evidences of physical anthropology, which would make the race concept meaningful. He has not referred to blood groups' evidence, parallel evolution, heredity and genetical traits in man, at any rate, not much. Race is not 'a dangerous myth', as he calls it in another book but is a fact only if we could jettison our ideas about race and eliminate prejudices. The genetic factors are becoming too important to warrant a negation of the concept. The future of the world depends not on negation of inconvenient facts, but to understand them and know their limitations. Our genetic studies, though the results have not been spectacular as yet, are likely to carry our understanding further and acquaint us with the effects of isolation and inbreeding, of variation and convergence, a knowledge that we do not want to black-out.

In spite of the flaws, that cannot be avoided when one has to encompass the whole field of anthropology into a few pages, the book deserves to be widely read, for it certainly will create interest in quarters where it has not done so far. Well produced, well printed, the book is welcome.

E. T.

HIERARCHY AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCE IN SOUTH INDIAN KINSHIP, By LOUIS DUMONT, Occasional Papers (No. 12, 1957) of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 21 Bedford Square, London Wc1, pp. 45, price 10/-s.

Every serious student of Indian social organisation is bound to be attracted by Dr. Louis Dumont's statement that 'South Indian kinship cannot be severed from the caste system' (p. 7). Indian anthropology is at the cross-roads to-day. Are we going to model the framework of our anthropological researches of to-morrow after the categories formulated by the British and/or American anthropologists? Should we not try to formulate our own (Indian) categories and frames of reference, duly recognising the unique position which the caste system occupies in the Indian social set up, not excluding the non-literate societies? Dumont's above statement qualifies his paper for a serious consideration on the basis of the contribution it promises to make to Indian anthropology.

No one can minimise the significance of kinship as a social institution, particularly in the so-called non-literate societies. The wealth of literature, both descriptive and analytical, on kinship is not only anthropology's prized possession, but, as Kroeber has pointed out, determines anthropology's independent status as a social science. As already referred to, in a country like India where an institution other than kinship seems to be all-pervading' a reconsideration and reformulation of the theoretical postulates derived from the traditional anthropological field researches becomes essential. Dumont has not mentioned as to why, of all the aspects of the Kallar life, did he single out kinship for his study. We are free to guess, then, that this was done not because the institution was supposed to occupy a kernal place in the group of societies under consideration, but because the researcher had a personal leaning towards it. If the latter is true then Dumont's study of 'Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship' is a truly British contribution and fully justifies Murdock's accusation, (accepted by Raymond Firth) that 'the British social anthropologists . . . do not concern themselves with the entire range of cultural phenomena but concentrate exclusively on kinship and subjects directly related thereto. . . .'

At the first sight it may seem that Dr. Dumont approaches the whole problem of South Indian kinship by showing its relationship with the caste system. But actually he finds out sufficient justification to study his main topic as an almost unadulterated aspect in the social nexus. The arguments are somewhat as follow. The author's contention is that among the Kallar and the Maravar group of societies which he is studying 'there is only one level in the sense that the organisation of each group can be considered as a particular

form of a general pattern' (p. 13). He also finds that 'this common social pattern stands in sharp contrast to the wide diversities in kinship organisation' (p. 13). So, the object of study is to examine these unitary and self-dependent kinship organisations separately, and to seek 'something in common' lying 'beneath all the apparent differences in the kinship make-up' (p. 13). The author has, it seems, tried to side-track the consideration of caste infiltration in kinship on another ground too. He has found out that the principle of 'alliance' is 'the fundamental principle of South Indian kinship' (p. 44). Alliance is also fundamental in relation to caste, because it determines the hierarchical principle, which, according to Dr. Louis Dumont, is the backbone of the caste structure. Endogamous marriage is the most important factor of status. In a systemic study of 'endogamous marriage in kinship' consideration of caste automatically and imperceptively creeps in because 'the analysis of kinship leads us to emphasise an institution which is of the highest importance in caste' (p. 44). Thus, kinship and caste are bound to be articulated since marriage is of crucial importance to both.

It is hard to understand how the dynamics of the Indian caste system can be grasped in full by a study of marriage alone. Dumont has not substantiated with facts his statement that 'it is quite in accordance with the obvious and well-known stress that Indian society lays upon it' (p. 44). Also debatable is his assertion that he did not find any absolute difference between 'what happens inside and outside a caste group' (p. 4). All anomalies can be found embedded in his definition of caste as a structural system *only*. The author opines that a caste group is only 'a segmentary, or structural group in the entire system' (p. 3). Only a system is susceptible to definition, says Dumont, and 'a caste is a shifting and elusive reality, because its characteristics in each case depend upon the position it occupies in the whole system' (p. 3). We should not be unjustified if we conclude that according to Dr. Dumont a caste is not a reality of the order the other institutions of a society belong to. So, a caste should not be recognised as a part of a social whole. As a logical derivative of the above, we can also say that in the study of any institution of a society or a group of related societies, no cognizance need be taken of caste, because it is in no way a conditioning factor. We fail to reconcile this logical derivative with Dumont's own dictum that 'South Indian kinship cannot be severed from the caste system'.

Dr. Dumont has, besides redefining many old terms like 'descent', 'patrilocal', 'patrilineal lineage' etc., introduced a very useful concept of 'matriline' or 'patriline' as a grouping in one line only. But a really very useful innovation is the concept of 'the unit of endogamy/exogamy'. Ordinarily, an endogamous group means a group outside

which an individual is not supposed to acquire his/her mate from. But usually the range from which the ego acquires his/her mate is much smaller than the endogamous group. The unit of exogamy is 'the smallest of the groupings which can be called endogamous in that looser sense' (p. 4). Besides all these, the author has found out a territorial distribution of status which might be of much use to all future students of the South Indian kinship.

Etymologically speaking 'kinship' means a relationship of consanguinity between two individuals. Radcliffe-Brown calls two persons, kin if one has descended from the other or both are descendants of a common ancestor. Generally speaking, these two persons are said to be related to each other consanguineally. In kinship literature another type of kin are also recognised—affinal kin. This latter kinship bond is established not through blood but through marriage. One of the most notable things discovered by Dumont is that 'contrary to the prevalent notions, affinal relationships are not individual or temporary. He has asked us 'to widen our concept of affinity' (p. 24). In a society where matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is the rule, the maternal uncle of the ego becomes his father-in-law. It is obligatory on a maternal uncle, as on a father-in-law, to send gifts to his sister's son in the case of the former, and to his son-in-law in the case of the latter. But the Ego's father-in-law-cum-maternal uncle continues sending gifts to the ego's son also while the former's son must assume the same responsibility in the case of his absence. These examples prove beyond doubt that like consanguinity, affinity is also inherited. In author's own words: 'the regulation causes marriage to be transmitted much as membership in the descent group is transmitted. With it, marriage acquires a diachronic dimension, it becomes an institution enduring from generation to generation which, I, therefore, call 'marriage alliance', or simply 'alliance' (p. 24). He has also pointed out that not only the relationship between a man and his brother-in-law is affinal, but their sons, who happen to be cross-cousins, are 'the closest affine by virtue of the transmission of affinity ties from one generation to the next' (p. 25). These findings require further probe as they may lead us to reconsider our fundamental concepts of kinship and to revise them.

Dr. Dumont is not in favour of the questionnaire technique for the studies of the present kind. He himself resorted to the technique of monographic study. He claims that he has modified this technique to suit Indian conditions, and, that it 'rests on solid methodological ground'. But he has not laid bare the assumptions underlying his methodology, though he has said that 'the comparative approach, which aims at discovering what different groups have, in common, has directed the field work' (p. 3). Any one familiar with the recent

controversies which have arisen in anthropology about comparative method and its utility knows fully well as to how dangerous it is to use the definite article 'the' before 'comparative approach/method'. Dumont does not seem to be vexed by all these. He is also silent about the type of comparison he is going to undertake.

Obviously Dr. Dumont's is not the text-book type of comparison as one finds, e.g., in Lowie's *Primitive Society*. Though the title of the paper may lead one to guess that it is an example of the 'regional comparison' as can be found in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde's (ed) *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, it is not so. The author himself says that his present account is based upon the research in the three southernmost districts of the Tamil-speaking part of South India. In this sense the title of the paper, under consideration, is misleading. That it is also not an example of the type of 'statistical comparison' which has been patronised by Murdock in his *Social Structure* is apparent. The author has not explicitly confessed, but the influence of Radcliffe-Brown on him is apparent. The author thinks it essential to give 'brief separate, descriptions of the individual group' (compare it with Radcliffe-Brown's concept of 'analysis'). He also hopes that 'there must be beneath all the apparent differences in kinship make-up, something in common' (compare it with Radcliffe-Brown's concept of 'comparison'). As a type Louis Dumont's is an example of 'an intensive (semi-) regional comparison'. But one must never forget Eggan's dictum that such 'controlled comparisons' can yield only, what Merton calls 'middle range theory' and will be of limited applicability.

Gopala Sarana



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